

Selected Writings of W. B. Henning

Walter Bruno Henning, the celebrated Iranist, published these 12 articles between the years 1942 and 1965. For an appreciation of his achievements, see the excellent entry by Werner Sundermann (2012) online at *Encyclopaedia Iranica*: [Henning, Walter Bruno](#).

[Mani's Last Journey](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (1942), pp. 941-953.

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Mani's Last Journey

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Mani's Last Journey

By W. B. HENNING

THE most detailed account of Mani's last days is contained in the Coptic "Narrative on the Crucifixion" (Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, pp. 42 sqq.). As I had occasion to point out before,¹ this "Narrative" had been quoted by the Christian Jibrā'il b. Nūḥ in his anti-Manichaean book which was still available to al-Bērūnī (*Chronology*, 208¹⁹⁻²²).

During the brief reign of King Hormizd² Mani went to Babylonia,³ where he stayed until the accession of Bahram I. After some time he left Babylonia and slowly travelled down the River Tigris, visiting his communities on the way. He reached Hormizd-Ardašīr (Ahwāz, Sūq al-Ahwāz), one of the four chief towns of Susiana, from where he started on a journey to the north-eastern provinces of the Sasanian empire. But he was forbidden to go there and compelled to turn back to Susiana. From Hormizd-Ardašīr he journeyed to Mesene, thence up the River Tigris in a boat to Ctesiphon. From the capital he went to "the Pargalia", where he was joined by Βααρ. He travelled to Kholassar, and from this town he reached Belapat, where he was destined to die. The route taken by him on the journey from Kholassar to Belapat is not known, as there is a gap in the manuscript. While the situation of "the Pargalia" remains unsettled,⁴ that of Kholassar (Khalasar)⁵ is well defined by a comparison of the itinerary given by Isidorus Kharacenus with the Arab geographers (journey from Ctesiphon to Holwan):—

| | <i>Isidorus.</i> ⁶ | <i>schoeni.</i> | <i>Arabs.</i> ⁷ | <i>fars.</i> |
|----------|-------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| Seleucia | | | al-Madā'in | |
| | | | Baghdad . . . | 7 |
| | | | an-Nahrawān . . . | 4 |

¹ *OLZ.*, 1935, col. 224.

² His surname "the Brave" (MPers. *nēv*, cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 848, n. 3; the ideogram *tb* misread *tag* by Markwart, *Catalogue*, p. 19) has been mistranslated in the *Homilies*, 42, 18 ("the good king": the MPers. word has both meanings).

³ *Man. Hom.*, 42²⁶, 30: "the Assyrians." Cf. *Cephalaia*, 186²⁶, "Babylon the city of the Assyrians" = 187¹¹ "the country of the Assyrians". See further Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 15, n. 3, Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 146, n. 1. Also Sogdian *swryk* = Babylonian, *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 16.

⁴ Unconvincing Schaefer *apud* Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, p. 44, n.

⁵ Cf. Schaefer, *ibid.*

⁶ *Stathmoi Parth.*, 2/3.

⁷ To Baghdad: Ya'qubi, *k. al-buldān*, 320¹⁶ sq., Qudamah, 193¹⁵ (etc.); to Holwan: Ibn Khurdadbih, 18¹⁴-19⁸, Qudamah, 197¹⁷ sqq., Ibn Rustah, 163¹³ sqq.

| <i>Isidorus.</i> | <i>schoeni.</i> | <i>Arabs.</i> | <i>fars.</i> |
|--|-----------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Artemita-Khalasar | 15 | دير سرما | 4 |
| | | Dastagerd | 8 |
| End of Apolloniatis (33 sch. fr. Seleucia) | 18 | Jalūlā | 7 |
| | | Khāniqīn | 7 |
| | | Qaṣr Širīn | 6 |
| Khala | 15 | Ḥolwān | 5 |
| | 48 | | 48 |

Since the distances given agree exactly for the whole of the journey, they are likely also to agree for any part of it. Hence Artemita¹ is to be identified with the دیر سرما (برمه , بارما) of the Arab Geographers, half-way between Baghdad and Dastagerd. A further point is provided by the similar description of that town : διὰ μέσης δὲ ταύτης ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Σίλλα (Isidorus) = *wayaḥtarikuhā nahr^{un} kabūr^{un}* (Ibn Rustah, 163¹⁸). We owe to Isidorus the information that this Greek city of Artemita *νῦν μέντοι καλεῖται χαλάσαρ*.² It is unlikely that Mani travelled from Kholassar to Belapat (*Bēlābād*, *Bēth-Lāpāt* = *Jundaišābūr*, *Vahi-Andiok-Šāpuhr*,³ between Susa and Šuštār) by the same way he had come, i.e. *via* Ctesiphon, the Tigris, Mesene, Ahwāz. This would have involved a considerable detour. That he preferred a more direct route, striking across the plain at the foot of the Persian hills, is suggested by the following Parthian fragment⁴ (*T ii D 163*, hitherto unpublished)⁵ :—

Col. A

- (1)](b)wyd[
- (2) hr]wyn b(r)[’dr’n

¹ On H. Kiepert’s map (*Formæ orbis antiqui, fol. v, Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Armenia*) Artemita is placed too far to the north-east. For further information see the text accompanying his map, p. 7, col. a. The number given by Strabo (500 *stadia*), although clearly rounded off, agrees well with Isidorus. 500 *stadia* are 88·8 kilometres (55½ miles), 15 parasangs at 5,940 metres are 89·1 kilometres. The LXXI *mp.* given by the *Tab. Peut.* should be corrected in LXI *mp.* (= 90·3 kilometres = 508 *stadia*). Isidorus’s schoenus is here evidently the same measure as the Arabic parasang (while in Persia proper 4 sch. equal 3 par.).

² In spite of this statement one might consider the Arabic name a corruption of, say (*Karkhā*) *d’Artemita* > **Dartemita* > **Dartemida* **Dartedima*. Such a form, if thought to contain *dair* “monastery”, could be spelt دیر تادما, دیر تیدما etc.

³ Cf. Minorsky, *Hudūd*, pp. 381 sq. As stated *BSOS.*, IX, 843, the name contains “Antiochus”, not “Antiochia”.

⁴ A small piece from the centre part of a page. Text written in two columns. There is nothing to show the original sequence of the columns; instead of ABCD as given here it might have been CDAB.

⁵ [Restorations], (damaged or doubtful letters).

- (3) [. . .]sy' gw(x)['y oo ms pty]g
 (4) [''](w)h w'cyd kw pd h w
 (5) (j)m'n [kd] qy(r)[b](kr) 'c
 (6) (t)[y]spw[n] (š)hry(s)[t'n] 'zgd
 (7) ['wš] 'd (b)'t [šh](r)d'r
(lines missing)

Col. B

- (8) kw mrym[']ny 'w m[n w'xt ?]
 (9) kwš byd pd t[
 (10) 'g'm ny 'w(r) byd w'c[-
 (11) 'w[
 (12) hyrz'h h.[
(lines missing)

Col. C

- (13) '](r)g'wy(ft) oo 'w
 (14) [about 7] r 'dgd 'b'w
 (15) [kd] (')ndr (gw)x'y pd bytdddy
 (16) *(broken off)*
 (17)]m 'b'w wjydg
 (18) g](w)xy
(lines missing)

Col. D

- (19) 'b](r)wm[y' ?
 (20)]t oo 'wd[
 (21) b(w)[d hym ? oo] (')wm prw'[n . .]
 (22) 'bjyrw'ng 'c dw'dys
 (23) 'mw(c)[g ']wd prw'[n] (?w)hmn
 (24) ky gr[. . .](rd)'rb[. .] br . .
 (25) wyfr'[št h](y)m oo (kd) 'wh

It is difficult to give a connected translation of so fragmentary a piece. "[A] . . . becomes . . . all the brethren [asked Mani: come¹ to] Gaukhai. [Further, Pate]cius thus relates: at that time when the Pious One (i.e. Mani) left the city of Ctesiphon and together with King Bāt . . . [B] . . . that Mar Mani [said] to me: do not come² again with his . . . time, then tell . . . he should

¹ Some such word could perhaps be recognized in]sy' (if complete). Cf. sy- "to appear" or "come", Ghilain, p. 91. sy' might be 2nd sing. subj.

² This passage is not clear; one should have m' 'wr.

leave [C] majesty. He entered ¹ [ʔ Kholassa]r,² then when [he was staying] in Gaukhai in Bēth-Derāyē . . . then the Elect . . . Gaukhai . . . [D] . . . And I was . . . and I announced ³ . . . in front of [several ⁴] disciples ⁵ from among the Twelve Teachers, and in the presence of Wahman (?) who ⁶ When thus”

The restoration of]g (line 3) into [pty]g = Patecius is supported by the text published below, where he is quoted as the authority for the events leading up to Mani's imprisonment. As the *muḥaddith* for a rather wonderful story he seems to be mentioned also *Man. Hom.*, 91¹¹, together with Mar Ammō (if the restitution of πατη[κίος] is possible). The latter and another of the Twelve, 'wz'y = Copt. "Οζεος,⁷ are responsible for the relation of the events connected with Mani's death, *Mir. Man.*, iii, p. 17, Schmidt, *Manifund*, p. 28.

The name of Ctesiphon occurs here for the first time in an Eastern Manichaean text. The spelling ⁸ is the same as in Pahlavi (*tyspwn*, *Šahr. Iran*, 21: see Markwart, *Catalogue*, pp. 60 sq.). "King Bāt" is of course the Βαατ ⁹ of the "Narrative" who therein is mentioned three times: 44²² (journey from Ctesiphon to Kholassar), 45⁵ (from Kholassar to Belapat), and 46¹³. The latter passage indicates that Mani's relations with Bāt furnished one of the pretexts for Mani's imprisonment. Bāt, it appears, had seceded from the state religion

¹ 'dgd (= Sogd. *tyt-*) supplies the preterite to 'dyh- (cf. Sogd. *tys-*), cf. 'zgd: 'zyh-.

² Very doubtful. To fill the gap it would be necessary to restore [hwl's']r.

³ Not clear. In proper Parthian "I announced" should be 'wm wyfr'št, while wyfr'št hym should mean "I have been announced". But cf. MPers. *kēšān nibištēnd* "who wrote" (*ZII.*, ix, 241, n. 1), and similar lapses.

⁴ A numeral is missing.

⁵ The etymology proposed by Herzfeld, *Altpers. Iss.*, p. 53, for Parthian 'bjyrw'ng fails to account for the final -w'ng, which certainly cannot be explained from -pānak (as Bartholomae assumed, *Zair. Wb.*, p. 165; this would be -b'ng). I prefer to find in 'bjyrw'ng the middle participle of *upa/abi* + *grab* "to grasp, learn"; cf. *pdgyrw-* and (as to g/ǰ) 'bg'm-: 'bj'm-, *hngft*: *hnjft*, etc.

⁶ I have not succeeded in finding the correct restoration of the relative clause.]rd'rb[, of which rd is uncertain, suggests [šh]rd'r, or possibly [s']rd'r, but b does not seem to be separated. If we restore [šh]rd'r, gr[would be a complete word. However, one hesitates to invent a *Gar-šahrđār* (a king of Gharchistan, or a *kōfdār*, Markwart, *Catalogue*, pp. 69 sq.). The restoration of *ky gr* [šh]rd'r b[wd] would not take into account the last word, which might be br'd. Sentences such as *ky gr šhrd'r bwd br'd* or *ky gr šhrd'r b't br'd* are grammatically unsatisfactory. One *whmn* appears as the addressee of one of Mani's epistles, *k. al-fihrist*, 336²³, ed. Fluegel.

⁷ Allberry, *Man. Psalm-book*, 34¹³. By a coincidence *δζεος* is also a place-name in Coptic = OPers. *uv(a)z(iy)a-*, Man.MPers. *hwjyg*, Syr. (*Bēth*) *Hūzāyē*, etc.

⁸ A point (turning p into f) may have been lost in the Parthian fragment.

⁹ The spelling suggests b't (or b't) in the Syriac original. Cf. b't' *ZDMG.*, xliii, p. 395⁷ = b't, *ibid.*, 394⁹, 396⁹ (a bishop of Lāšom).

and joined the Manichaeans. Furthermore, Mani had been ordered to come into the presence of King Bahram in the company of Bāt, who, however, had wisely preferred to leave Mani when approaching the royal residence, Belapat. To judge by the title given to him in the Parthian fragment (*šahrdār*), Bāt must have been a sub-king and a person of some consequence. He was hardly a Persian, but possibly a Babylonian or an Armenian.¹

No such place-name as *bytddy* is known to me. Probably we have to add a point to the second *d*: the resultant *bytdryy* is plainly a slightly irregular ² spelling of Syriac *byt-dry'* = *Bēth-Dērāyē*, in Arabic *Bādarāyā*. Together with *Bēth-Kusāyē*, Upper, Middle, and Lower *Nahrawān*, *Bēth-Dērāyē* (which was a Nestorian bishopric from not later than A.D. 420 onwards) formed part of the Sasanian province of *an-Nahrawānūt*,³ or *Bāziḡān-Khosrou* (?),⁴ to the east of Ctesiphon on the left bank of the Tigris. The name has survived in the modern *Badrai*, on the Persian frontier, due north of an-Nukhailat, about thirty miles distant from the nearest point of the Tigris. The ruins of *Bēth-Kusāyē* (*Bākusāyā* in Arabic) which usually appears coupled with *Bēth-Dērāyē*, are to the south-east of Badrai, on the river of Changulak.⁵

The name of the town or district of *Bēth-Dērāyē* which Mani visited was *gwx'y* (*gwx'y*) = *Gaukhai*. This is evidently the same as Syriac *gwky*,⁶ Mandaic *g'wk'y*, Ar. جوخي or جوحا. The latest effort to determine the exact position of this district was made by Schaeder

¹ A century later, the *nahapet* of the *Saharunik'* bears the name of *Bat*. He played a rôle in the political life of Armenia after the murder of King Pap. For further references see Huebschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 32, and Justi *s.v.*

² The normal spelling of the ending *-āyē* is *-y'* in Syriac, *-yy'* in Mandaic, but *-y* or *-yy* in Jewish Aramaic. The peculiar spelling *-yy* cannot be ascribed to the type of Aramaic used by Mani, as the few available scraps suffice to show (see Burkitt, *Rel. of the Man.*, pp. 111 sqq.). In loan-words *-y* replaces Aram. *-āyā*, as e.g. in *hrwm'y*. Cf. also Man. MPers. *myšn'yg'n* "Mesenians" = *mēšnāy-īg-ān* with a Persian suffix (as in Pahl. *HRWM'DYK*); in Pahl. both forms occur: *myšn'y Pahl. Vd.*, 1¹⁰, and *myšn'dyk'n*, *Gr.Bd.*, 207⁴.

³ Maqdisi (Muqaddasi) 133¹⁵. Elsewhere this term is applied to the three districts of Nahrawān only (Ibn Khurdadbih 13¹⁷, Qudamah 235¹¹).

⁴ Ibn Khurdadbih 6¹². On the institution of this province by Khosrou I, see Noeldeke, *Tabari*, p. 239.

⁵ Cf. Sachau, *Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien*, pp. 28 sq.

⁶ E.g., *Acta St. Maris*, 67¹, ed. J.-B. Abbeloos. In an earlier article (*Orientalia*, v, p. 85) I unfortunately followed Fluegel's identification of Jōhā with *Coche* (one of the towns of al-Madā'in) without having inquired further into the matter. Most authors correctly distinguished the two localities (Le Strange, *Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, p. 42; Sachau, *loc. laud.*, p. 29; and others). According to Schaeder Jōhā stands for *Coche* as well as *Gaukhai*. It seems to me now that it *always* refers to *Gaukhai*.

(*Islam*, xiv, pp. 22 sq.), according to whom Gaukhai (*Jōhā*) lay in the centre of Mesene. His theory, however, is not favoured by the statement in the Parthian fragment that Gaukhai lay in Bēth-Dērāyē, i.e. considerably more to the north. According to Yaqut *s.v.* “*Jōhā* is the name of a river on which an extensive *kūrah* is situated in the Sawād of Baghdad. . . .¹ And it (= river) lies between Khāniqīn and Khūzistān”. The latter sentence gives an excellent definition² of the situation of Bēth-Dērāyē. The rather vague term “Sawād of Baghdad” covered Bēth-Dērāyē, but excluded the regions of Mesene which were counted to either Wāsiṭ or Baṣra.

Apparently *Gaukhai* was originally the name of a river in Bēth-Dērāyē, preferably the river of Badrai itself, which with a number of small streams loses itself in the swamps to the north and north-east of Kut-el-Amara. From the river this swampy region also took the name of Gaukhai. Occasionally, a Nestorian bishopric of Gaukhai is mentioned (Sachau, *ibid.*, p. 29) which probably was identical with the bishopric of Bēth-Dērāyē. Mas‘udi, *Tanbīh* 36¹⁵, mentions “the land of Gaukhai” as comprising Bādarāyā and Bākusāyā (and another district). Ibn an-Nadīm (*k. al-fihrist*, 340²) states that the founder of some obscure sect was a native of Gaukhai, “from a village on the Nahrawān (canal),” i.e. from Lower Nahrawān, the district immediately bordering on Bēth-Dērāyē in the west. We also find the name of Gaukhai applied to the whole region of the swamps which accompanied the lower course of the Tigris, roughly from Kut-el-Amara to Qurna, particularly by the source common to Ibn Rustah (95¹², 2⁰) and Mas‘udi (*Tanbīh* 40¹³, 1⁶, 54¹). However, both authors say that in their time these swamps had long since ceased to exist and turned into a desert; for during the reign of Khosrou Aparwēz the Tigris had left its old bed in Gaukhai and chosen a new channel through the province of Kaškar, and new swamps had formed between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra.

¹ I have left out the following clause: “On its eastern bank are the two districts of Rādhān.” This statement cannot be reconciled with the remainder of Yaqut’s article (nor, for that matter, with anything else). Le Strange (*ibid.*, p. 35) defines *ar-Rādhānāni* as “the district round al-Madā’in which stretched eastward from the Tigris to the Nahrawān canal”. In the Sasanian division of Babylonia Upper and Lower Rādhān formed one *kūrah* with Ctesiphon, Kalwādhā (near Baghdad), Nahr-Bīn, etc. (Ibn Khurdadbih 6⁶⁻⁸). Maqdisi (54¹, 115⁵) counts *ar-Rādhānāni* to Samarra, not, however, to Baghdad. Therefore, these two districts lay to the north of Baghdad, probably near the Nahr Rādhān between the Shatt al-‘Aḍaim and the Diyala (cf. Syr. *Rādhān*, Sachau, *ibid.*, p. 56).

² But a miserable one if *Jōhā* were *Coche* (as was assumed by Fluegel, *Mani*, p. 122, and is still maintained by Schaeder, *ibid.*, p. 23, n. 2, for Yaqut’s article). It would be like saying: Westminster lies between Bristol and Yorkshire.

We may assume that the name of Gaukhai properly belonged only to the northernmost part of the original swamps, but that its use was extended to cover the whole, perhaps erroneously, perhaps in view of the absence of another comprehensive term for the whole of the region.

Comparing the Parthian text with the Coptic "Narrative", one can hardly escape the conclusion that Mani's journey to Gaukhai took place after his last visit to Ctesiphon, i.e. while travelling from Kholassar to Belapat. The absence of any reference to Gaukhai in the description of his journey up the River Tigris from Mesene to Ctesiphon indicates that the name of Gaukhai had a less wide application in the third century than later on, and that it was employed only for the middle reaches of the river of Badrai. The itinerary Kholassar-Badrai-Belapat shows that Mani travelled overland by the shortest imaginable route, probably following the ancient high-road from Sardes to Susa (ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλική, Herodotus, v, 52) the last part of which was used also by Alexander in his march from Babylon to Susa through Sitakene, 331 B.C. Owing to the decline of Susa and the other cities of northern Khūzistān this most important highway of the Achaemenian empire fell into disuse in later centuries, except possibly for the last two or three stages. In Muslim times one travelled from Baghdad to Sūs (and further on to Jundaisābūr = Belapat) via Wāsiṭ, reaching the ancient road probably at Ṭīb (13 leagues from Sūs).¹

The object of Mani's last journey was to pay a farewell visit to his communities before his death, which he felt approaching (cf. *Man. Hom.*, 44¹⁷ sqq.). The commencement of the Parthian fragment suggests that from Gaukhai he had received an especially urgent invitation. Close bonds united the prophet and the communities of Gaukhai; for in all probability² Mani was a native of Gaukhai. It was only

¹ See the itinerary *apud* Ibn Rustah, 188¹³⁻¹⁵.

² Cf. Schaeder, *ibid.*, p. 23. Gaukhai is mentioned in the opening words of the chapter on the Manichaeans in the *k. al-fihrist* (328¹) where one expects to find the name of Mani's birthplace stated. However, the decisive words are hopelessly corrupted. Fleischer's restoration of the text (accepted by Flügel in his edition, and followed also by me, *Orientalia*, v, 84 sqq.) is no longer tenable. It involves (1) a wrong name, *Qunnā* instead of *dair Qunnā*, (2) the existence of a "bishop of the Arabs" in Gaukhai in the third century (an absurdity), (3) the misstatement that originally Mani had been a Christian bishop (similar although less pretentious fabrications are occasionally found in purely Christian sources, e.g. *Chronicle of Siirt*, cf. Sachau, *ibid.*, p. 38, and Bar Evrāyā, *Hist. of the Dynasties*, 129 u. ed. Salhani). Although the correct restitution of the passage eludes me, I should like to propose النهريان من نهر جوشي (= *an-Nahrawān*) in the place of العربان من اهل جوشي. According to al-Beruni (*Chronology*, 208⁷⁻⁸), who quotes Mani's own writings, the prophet was born in the

fitting that the last place Mani visited before his death was the one from which he had started on his life's journey.

I take this opportunity to publish another Parthian fragment (*T ii D 163*) which belonged to the same book as the text given above, and to republish the Middle-Persian fragment *M 3* which was first made available by F. W. K. Müller (*HR.*, ii, pp. 80 sqq.). Since the first edition the page of *M 3* has been completed through the discovery of a small scrap (*T i D 51*) which originally formed part of it.¹

T ii D 163

Recto page, second column ²

(1)]wxyb(y)[y]d

(*Two lines left blank*)

(2) ms ptyg 'n nyš'n dyd

(3) ['w]d w'c['d] wyn'm kw

(4) (qy)rbkr ['](b)r pdr'st

(5) 'wd cw[nd] (r)wc tygr

(6)]t 'wm

(*lines missing*)

Verso page, first column ³

(7) p(d)m(w)[g]wzrg .[

(8) dyrd [] kw p(t)

(9) 'drg'wyf(t) pd [ʔš'](h)yg'n

(10) br fr'x 'dyhyd u 'zyhyd

(11) 'dy'n qyr(d)[y](r)⁴ mgbyd (')[d]

(12) 'dy'wr'n ky [pr](x)št prw'n

(13) š'h 'nd[yš'd ⁵] u rsk

(14) [']wd n(b)[yn ?

Translation: "Furthermore, Patecius⁶ saw another⁷ sign and village of مردینو on the upper کوثی canal. However, the canal of Kūthā lay far to the west, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. It is tempting to restore كوخى and explain it as a transcription of *Gaukhai* peculiar to al-Beruni. As مردینو (otherwise unknown), this is obviously corrupt and should be brought into agreement with 'brwmy', the name of Mani's birthplace according to Theodor bar Konay (see Schaefer, *ibid.*, p. 23, n. 3); hence to be read برومیا or رومیة. ?

¹ See *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 9.

² The first column is missing.

³ The second column is missing.

⁴ Only the point on top of the *r* is visible.

⁵ Or possibly 'nd[yšyd].

⁶ On the spelling of this name in MPers. see Schaefer, *Iranica*, p. 69.

⁷ 'n = 'ny is very rare, cf. *BBB.*, *s.v.*

spoke (thus) : I see¹ that the Pious One (i.e. Mani) has got up and for several days the Tigris (*lacuna*) garment great held that majestically he enters and leaves² the wide Royal (?)³ Gate. Thereupon Kerdēr the Magbed (Mōbed) planned with his friends who served before the king, and . . . jealousy and cunning. . . ."⁴

M 3

(*Recto*) (1) 'md kš 'n nwhz'dg (2) 'yg trkwm'n 'wd kwštyh (3) d(h).r⁵ 'wd 'bzxy' 'y p'rsyg (4) '[mwšt] bwd hym oo 'wd š'h (5) n'n xwrđn bzm bwd oo 'wš (6) dst 'hnwnc nyšwst oo u (7) 'dyd hynd ps'nyg'n 'wš'n (8) gwpt kw m'ny 'md 'wd pd (9) dr 'ystyd oo 'wd š'h 'w (10) xwd'wn pyg'm prys'td kw (11) 'yw zm'n p'y d' 'n xwd 'w (12) tw 'y'n oo 'wd xwd'wn 'b'c (13) 'w 'yw kwstg 'yg wyng nšst (14) oo d' š'h dst šwst oo cy (15) xwdyc 'w nhcyhr prnptn bwd (16) oo 'wd 'c xwrn⁶ 'wl 'xyst (17) 'wš ds[t]⁷ 'yw 'br sg'n (18) b'nb(y)šn 'bgnd oo

¹ The wording seems to suggest that the story was told in the form of a prediction by Patecius. The muddle in the tenses may be due to mistranslation from Syriac.

² Probably = "he passes through the gate." Read 'rg'wyft.

³ Partially illegible word. Probably the name of one of the gates of Belapat. The passage evidently refers to the imprudently ostentatious entry into the capital by Mani. Cf. *Man. Hom.*, 45¹¹ sqq.

⁴ Cf. *M 4 b 15 āz nabēn . . . āvaržōg wadišgār* "cunning Greed . . . malicious Lust" (a remarkable translation of the word *nbyn* in this passage was given by Schaeder, *Urform*, p. 116, n. 1: *nbyn* = NPers. *nābīn*!). But possibly "the cunning of the Greed" would be a more correct rendering, as in other passages *nbyn* is a substantive: *ws* [. . .] 'xš'dyft oo *nbyn* 'wt [. . .] 'c mrdwhm'n wynyd [. . .] 'wd pt'wyd "He experiences and suffers much distress, malice and . . . from the side of mankind" (*M 295 R 5-7*); *nbyn* 'wd dybhr pdmwxt qyf'h qhn'n msyšt 'd hrw yhw'dn "Caiaphas the High Priest and all Jews clothed themselves in malice and wrath" (*M 734 R 7-9*). One could derive *nabēn* from Parthian *dab* (*Mir. Man.*, iii, and *BSOS.*, IX, p. 82, where also *dbyn*), assuming the sporadic interchange of a voiced plosive with the nasal of the same group. Such interchange is well attested for the labials (mostly in words containing a nasal sound), for example Pahl. *angumēn*: Pers. *angubīn*, Pahl. *manğ*: Pahl. and Pers. *bang*, MPers. *-manğ*, NPers. *munğ*: Oss. *binjä* (see *Sogdica*, p. 45), Saka *bīysma* (Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 120): Av. *mašman*. A case in point is provided by the place-name *Mandalī* (between Badrai and Khanīqin) from MPers. **Vandanīg*, **Bandanīg* (Arab Geogr. *Bandanīfīn*, etc.: see Le Strange, *op. laud.*, emendations to the second printing), where we have *m* from *b*, and *l* from *n* (cf. *r* from *n* in MPers. *ḫwamr*, etc.). It is more difficult to find cases of *d/n*. There is, of course, MPers. *nbyg* (Sogd. *npyk*), if from OPers. *dipi-*, to fall back on; cf. also the case of Pers. *panām*.

⁵ *dh'r?* *dhur?* The reading *dbyr* (Andreas) is hardly correct. One should have the Iḏāfah between *k-* and *dbyr*. More likely *d . . .* is a personal name.

⁶ Müller: *xwrđn*. There is a break in the paper after *w*, but I do not believe a letter has been lost.

⁷ The reading *rs[n]* is incorrect; no point has broken off.

'wd yk (19) 'br k(y)[r]dyr ¹ 'y 'rdw'ng'[n] 'wd (20) pr'c ['w] xwd'wn
 'md oo ['wš] (21) [p]d sr (sx)wn 'w xwd'wn 'wh (22) gwpt² [kw] (m)
 (dr)[y]st³ wr oo (23) ['wš xwd'w]n 'b'c gwft⁴ kw (*Verso*) (24) cym r'y
 tyswm wynst ooo (25) 'wd (š)'h gwft kwm swgnd xwrd (26) oo kwt
 pd 'yn zmyg ny hyl'n (27) rs[yd] ³ oo 'wš pd xyšm 'w x[wd']wn
 (28) 'wh gwpt kw 'yy pd cy (29) 'b'yšn hyd oo k' ny 'w (30) k'ryc'r
 šwyd 'wd ny nheyhr (31) kwnyd oo b' 'wh'y 'yn bšyhyk_h (32) r'y 'wd
 'y⁴ drn'n bwrnd r'y (33) 'b'yšn hyd oo 'wd 'ync ny (34) kwnyd oo 'wš
 xwd'wn pswx 'wh (35) d'd kw (mn) pd 'šm'h tyswc (36) ny wyns[t]
 oo (cym) myšg kyrbgyy (37) kyrd pd 'šm'h 'wt'n pd (38) twhmg'n
 oo 'wd ws 'wd pr(h)ynd (39) bng 'y 'šm'h kym dyw ⁵ u (40) drwxš 'cyš
 b (') [bwr](d) oo 'w[d] (41) ws bwd hynd oo k[ym] 'c (42) wy(m)'ryh
 'xyzn'd [h](y)nd oo u (43) ws bwd hynd ky[m] tb (44) 'wd rrz 'y
 cnd (s)[']rg ⁶ 'cyš (45) 'n'pt oo 'w[d ws bwd] hynd ⁷ (46) [k]y 'w mrg
 md 'wmy[š'n]

Translation: " [Mani] came [viz. to the audience of King Bahram I] after he had [called together] ⁸ me, Nūh-zādag ⁹ (= Bar-Nūh) the interpreter, Kuštai, D . . . , and Abzakhyā ¹⁰ the Persian. The king was at his dinner-table ¹¹ and had not yet finished his meal. ¹² The courtiers entered and said (to the king): Mani has come and is standing at the door. The king sent this message to the Lord (i.e. Mani): wait a moment until I can come to you myself.

¹ The second letter is clearly *y* (thus also Müller and Andreas), certainly not the lower part of *n*. There is a gap in the paper above *k* (therefore might be *x*). One letter is missing before *-dyr*. The restoration of *kndyr* (Salemman), or *xydyr* (Andreas, *apud* Barr, *Pahl. Ps.*, p. 133), is therefore excluded.

² Seen by Müller; now no longer visible.

³ Or rather *rs[yy]*? Space insufficient for *rs[ydn]* (Salemman).

⁴ Copyist's mistake for 'yn.

⁵ Not *dyw['n]*. Cf. *ZII.*, ix, 232⁶⁻⁸.

⁶ *s[r]dg* is equally possible (*sārag* from Av. *sarāda-*, *srdg* = Pahl. *sltk*).

⁷ Still seen by Müller, now broken off.

⁸ *bwd hym* = 1st pers. pl. (incorrect *ZII.*, ix, p. 244).

⁹ Obviously the name of Mani's interpreter; hitherto translated "first-born" (in MPers. *nawryg*, in Parthian *nwxz'd*).

¹⁰ On Kuštai and Abzakhyā see Schaeder, *Gnomon*, ix, p. 343. In the *k. al-fihrist* ابن خيا (not ابن اخيا) should be read in the place of ابراحيا (the mysterious خبرها *ibid.*, 336²³, 24, 337⁸ is clearly none other than Gabriab, جبرهاب).

¹¹ *bazm būdan* is a compound verb (correctly rendered by Marr, *apud* Salemman, *Man. Stud.*, p. 61; the translation proposed by Andreas *apud* Lentz, *ZII.*, iv, p. 282, hardly meets the case: *šāh* is certainly not a genitive). *nān xwardan* does not mean "to eat bread", but "to eat", as Hebrew *ākal lāhām*, NT. *ἄφρον ἐσθίω*, etc.

¹² Lit. "had not yet washed his hands".

The Lord again sat down to one side of the guard¹ (and waited there) until the king should have finished his meal when² he was to go hunting.

"The king rose from the table,³ and putting one arm round the Queen of the Sakas⁴ and the other round Kerdēr⁵ the son of Ardawān, he came towards the Lord. His first words to the Lord were : You are not welcome.⁶ The Lord replied : what wrong have I done ? The king said : I have sworn not to let you come to this country.⁷ And in anger he spoke thus to the Lord : Eh, what are you good for since you go neither fighting nor hunting ? But perhaps you are needed for this⁸ doctoring and this⁸ physicking ? And you don't do even that !

"The Lord replied thus : I have not done you any wrong. Always I have done good to you and your family. Many and numerous were your servants whom I have [freed] of demons and witches.⁹ Many were those whom I have made rise from their illnesses. Many were those from whom I have averted the numerous kinds of ague.¹⁰ Many

¹ Salemann : "window(?)," Andreas : "tent" (*Festgabe f. Th. Nöldeke*, 1916, p. 6). But "tent" is *wiyān* in MPers., i.e. *wy'n* (to the examples collected by Andreas : Parth. *w'd'n*, Arm. *vran*, Pahl. Ps. *wy'd'n*, Jewish Persian *by'n*, I have added NPers. *gayān*, *Mir. Man.*, iii, p. 908 ; [*w*] *yd'n* should be read also in Pahlavi, in the place of *xān*, *Ayādgar-i-Zarērān*, 32/33). With *wyng* from *wyn*- "to see", cf. Arm. *dēt* "guard", *dītak* "watch-post" ; one also could point to MPers. **gōšag* "spy" if from *gauš*- "to hear" (and not from *gauša*- "ear").

² The use of *cy* (normally = "because") is not clear ; possibly mistranslation of Syr. *mā d'*- (cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, p. 179)?

³ *χwaran* here probably = "banquet", etc. (rather than "tent"), cf. *BSOS.*, X, p. 509.

⁴ Usually translated : "queen of the hounds." The correct rendering has at least been considered by Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, p. 102.

⁵ Salemann "quiver", Andreas "steed".

⁶ i.e. the reversal of the usual formula of greeting (when receiving a friend) : *dryst 'wr* (or *pd drwd* "y-, or *dryst wys'y*, all in *Mir. Man.*, ii, where p. 313, n. 8, an incorrect translation has been given ; *wys'y* probably "enter, come", from *wys*- = Av. *visa-*, *Air. Wb.*, p. 1326) = Pahl. *drwdst LPMH* (*Ard. Vir.*, 10⁷) = Aram. *'ty bšlm*. With the negation also in Pahlavi, *Ayādgar-i-Zarērān*, 51.

⁷ An evasive answer !

⁸ The use of the Persian demonstrative pronoun gives the phrase a perceptibly contemptuous note. The king, who apparently was not very broadminded, does not seem to have been in sympathy with his father's efforts at raising the medical standard in his lands. Under Shapur I Greek and Indian scientific books, especially medical treatises, were translated into Persian (*Dinkard*, 412¹⁷ sqq., ed. Madan). Like Mani and his adherents, medical science fell a victim to the reaction which under Bahram set in against Shapur's liberal and enlightened government.

⁹ i.e. healed through exorcism.

¹⁰ Pers. *tab u larz*.

were those who were at the point of death,¹ and I have [revived] them. . . .”

Both fragments mention *Kerdēr*, the *Kardel* of the Coptic texts, the man whom the Manichaeans considered the chief instigator of Mani's downfall. His identity with the famous *Krtyr* of the Pahlavi inscriptions (first suggested by Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, p. 45, n. 2) can now be taken for granted (the spelling of his name in Man. MPers. and Parth. agrees closely with that in the inscriptions). We owe to Professor Herzfeld a sketch of the life of *Krtyr*, whom he has identified with *Tansar*, the reorganizer of the Zoroastrian church (*Archaeolog. Hist. of Iran*, pp. 100 sqq.). In the recently discovered Great Inscription of Šāpūr I² (from about A.D. 262)³ *Krtyr*, still with the comparatively modest title of *ēhrpat* (line 33: *krtyr ZY 'yhrpt*), is mentioned for the first time, and for the last time he appears in the Paikuli inscription (from about A.D. 294). From the fragment *M* 3 we learn that the name of his father was *Ardawān*⁴; that *Kerdēr*⁵ was his personal name (and not a title) can no longer be in doubt.

That the king who appears in the fragment *M* 3 was Bahram I⁶ (and not Shapur, as assumed by F. W. K. Müller and others) is proved by the unfriendly tenor of the whole conversation and, of course, by the rôle played by *Kerdēr*. The *Sakān-Bānbišn*, “Queen of the Sakas,” who also participated in the conversation, was the wife of the then ruling *Sakān-Šāh*, or prince-governor of the south-eastern part of the Sasanian empire. Under Shapur, *Narseh* (his youngest son) had held that position, and *Šāpuhrduxtak* had been his *Sakān-Bānbišn* (*sk'n MLKT*). The advent of King Bahram I probably

¹ Lit. “who came to death”. It would probably be incorrect to understand the phrase as laying claims to the ability of resurrecting the dead.

² In my second paper on this inscription, contributed to the forthcoming *Jackson Memorial Volume*, I have discussed this passage in some detail.

³ Cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 845.

⁴ His name indicates that he was born during the reign of *Ardawān*, the last Arsacid king, i.e. not before A.D. 213. Hence, *Kerdēr* may have been born in about A.D. 232, so that he was thirty years of age when Shapur concluded his Roman war, forty-five when he fought against the Manichaeans and caused Mani's imprisonment, and a little over sixty at the time of *Narseh*'s accession to the throne. According to Herzfeld, *ibid.*, p. 101, he served already under *Ardašir* I; as far as I can see this is not said in the published inscriptions.

⁵ The original meaning of the word *kerdēr* is something like “efficacious” or “energetic”: cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 84 (the etymology proposed there is to be cancelled). I fail to see any connection with *kardarigan*, *gardupatu* (?), *oropasta*, or *qahramān*; on *qahramān* from **karθra-* (Lagarde) = Arm. *kah* = NPers. *kāl-* see now *Sogdica*, pp. 56 sq.

⁶ Cf. *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 9.

brought a change, and we may assume that the appointment of his eldest grandson Bahram to the post of Sakān-Šāh dated already from the beginning of his reign (A.D. 273–4).¹ It is therefore likely that the Sakān-Bānbišn mentioned here was the wife of the later King Bahram III.

The text of *M* 3 purports to be an eye-witness account of the conversation, rendered by Mani's interpreter Nūh-zādag. Although Mani knew some Persian and even had composed one of his books in, it is true, somewhat halting Persian, he must have felt his knowledge of that language to be insufficient for an audience that was to decide on his life and the future of his community.²

¹ But see Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, pp. 34 sq.

² Note that the king accuses Mani of having neglected his medical duties. We know from other sources that the death of a relative of Bahram's, attributed to Mani's alleged negligence, formed one of the pretexts for Mani's incarceration (one of Bahram's sisters, according to *Man. Hom.*, 46²⁵⁻⁶, but see *Jibrā'il b. Nūh apud* Beruni, *loc. laud.*, 208²⁰⁻¹). As this death apparently had taken place shortly before Mani appeared before the king, while Mani had not attended the court for some three years (cf. *Man. Hom.*, 46¹²; he was hiding in Babylonia), this accusation seems to be singularly ill-founded. As was to be expected, anti-Manichaeon Christian writers have made the most of this story (beginning with the author of the *Acta Archelai*, 93¹⁷ sqq., ed. Beeson; the son of the king: *mortuus est puer in manibus eius vel potius extinctus, etc.*).

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An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn

By W. B. HENNING

A TRANSLATION and full explanation of the complete recension of the Bundahishn have been wanted ever since Anklesaria in 1908 published his facsimile edition, the few Iranian scholars having been occupied with the endless stream of fresh material that has descended upon them since the beginning of this century. This article contains a translation of the second chapter; the first and third chapters were made available by Nyberg, *JA.*, 1929, i, 206-237.

The second chapter, like few other sections of the book, allows us a glimpse of the structure and composition of the "Bundahishn" which are already sufficiently indicated by its correct title, *Zandāgāhīh*, i.e. exposition of information provided by the Pahlavi version of the Avesta. It is an original work on cosmology in which the scattered teachings of the Avesta were co-ordinated and brought into a system by an author who, living presumably towards the end of the Sassanian epoch,¹ possessed an encyclopædic knowledge of the Avestic literature. The oft-repeated assertion that the Bundahishn were the Pahlavi version of an Avestan *Nask*, the *Dāmdād Nask*, is a myth. It is true that the compiler utilized also the *Dāmdād Nask*, but only as one source among many: others are the *Vendidad*, *Yasna*, *Yashts*, *Nyāyish*, etc.² From the resemblance of the contents of ch. xxviii to the Hippocratical treatise *περὶ ἐβδομάδων* (believed to have been written about 420 B.C.) Goetze³ has argued a very early date for the composition of the *Dāmdād Nask* as the presumed source of the Bundahishn. This cannot be accepted as proved, since there is nothing to show that the *Dāmdād Nask* formed the sole (or even the main) source of the Bundahishn. We are at liberty to assume that a Pahlavi version of the Greek treatise or an epitome made from it (translated

¹ This, however, still remains to be proved. All we know is that the final chapters (xxxi to xxxvi), regarded as a later addition by most scholars, were written in Abbasid times; the date of ch. xxxi, a bowdlerized version of *Vd.*, i (Pahl. tr.), is settled by Baghdād being mentioned (205¹²); confusion of *Sūlik* and *Sūrik*. On ch. xxix see Christensen, *Kayanides*, 51-60.

² For example, *Vd.* 2²⁵ in 68⁹ and 94⁶⁻⁷ (see below *Note A*); *Y.* 57¹ (or 32⁰, or par.) in 170¹⁻⁶; *Tištr Yt.* in 63; Pahl. tr. of *Nyāyish* 3⁴⁻⁷ (pp. 29-31, ed. Dhabhar) in 165; etc. For further details see Christensen, *ibid.*, 47 sq.

³ *Zeitschrift f. Indologie u. Iran.*, vol. ii; supported by Reitzenstein and Schaefer, *Studien*, 6 sqq., 209, *et passim*.

probably under Shapur I) was among the material utilized in ch. xxviii.¹

The astronomical contents of the second chapter facilitate the analysis of the sources at the disposal of the author. His main source with its nearly prehistoric views (sun and moon farther distant from the earth than the stars; size and velocity of the stars; planets unknown, etc.) is clearly pre-Achæmenian. After contact with the Babylonians the ecliptic, the zodiacal signs, the planets, etc., became known. Acquaintance with Greek science, energetically promoted by Shapur I, brought more modern ideas (e.g. stellar magnitudes, exact data for the elongation of the planets,² etc.). The division of the ecliptic into "lunar mansions" was introduced probably as late as A.D. 500.³ The most ancient views stand beside quite modern opinions. There is no doubt that the author of the Bundahishn knew perfectly well that the moon is nearer to the earth than the fixed stars; to say so, however, against the authority of scripture, would have branded him as a heretic.⁴

ON THE CREATION OF THE LIGHTS

[A 25⁵, W 6²] Ohrmazd created ⁵ the Lights and set them between the heaven and the earth: the fixed stars, the not-fixed stars, then the moon, then the sun. [W 6⁵] After he had first created a sphere, he [A 25¹⁰] set the fixed stars on it, in particular the following twelve (constellations)⁶ whose names are: Lamb, Ox, Two Pictures, Crab, Lion, Spica, Balance, Scorpion, Centaur, Goat,⁷

¹ The question whether or not the author of *De Hebdomadibus* was influenced by Oriental ideas, has no bearing upon the whole problem. "Oriental ideas" and Dāmdād Nask are not synonyms.

² See Note B at the end of this paper.

³ See Note E at the end of this paper.

⁴ A = Great Bundahishn, ed. Anklesaria; W = Indian Bd. (Westergaard).

⁵ There is little doubt that *brihēnīdan* "create" and "predetermine, predestine" derives from *brī* "to cut"; cf. Av. *taš-*, *θwaras-*, etc., "cut" and "create". The *-h-* compares with that in Man.MPers. *pryhyn* "loving", whilst the shortening of palatal vowels in front of *-h-* is exemplified by Parthian *frhyft* "love" (commonly mistranslated "glory"), or by Persian *jihān* "world" (MPers. *gēhān*; *g/* as in *jān*, *jā*). The late Pazend spelling *barhin-*, etc., is the correct continuation of *brihēn-*, cf. Pers. *farmāy-* from MPers. *framāy-*; indeed, we know that in later times Parth. *frhyft* was pronounced *farhīft*. Nyberg's explanation of the verb as an ideogram (*JA.*, 1929, i, 250 sq.) carries little conviction.

⁶ A recognition of their Babylonian origin might be found in a Dinkard passage (639¹¹ sqq., epitomized 435 ult.) where it is told that Zoroaster explained the proper import of the zodiacal circle to the "Wise of Babylon" (*frazānagān-i Babelāyigān*).

⁷ *whyk* = (young) he-goat, cf. Tavadia, *Šnš.* 129 (*ad x*, 9). In a Manichæan fragm. (M 235) we have: 'ystynyd . . . 'wd *whyg'n* 'c *xwy* = τὰ δὲ ἐρίφια Matthew 25, 33. Cf. Bakht. *big*.

Pail, Fish. In astronomy one also employs their subdivision in twenty-seven lunar mansions ¹ [W 6¹⁰] whose names are : Padevar, Pesh-Parviz, etc.²

[A 26⁴, W 6¹⁵] For all material creatures Ohrmazd has fixed their stations,³ so that at the moment of the aggressor's arrival they should fight with their particular antagonists and deliver the creatures from their adversaries, in the way of an army and its battalions which are arrayed for a battle (viz. before the fighting starts).

[A 26⁸] For each of those < twelve constellations >⁴ 6,480,000 odd stars ⁵ were created, to assist them (viz. in the great fight). These are now counted as "fixed stars" (*aṣṭar*), and are apart from the countless stars which also are there to assist them.

[A 26¹¹, W 7¹] Over the fixed stars Ohrmazd appointed four Generals, (one) for (each of) the four directions, and over these Generals he appointed a General of Generals.⁶ Many stars whose names are known, too many to be counted, were posted to the various districts and stations, for the purpose of invigorating and strengthening the fixed stars.⁷ As HE says ⁸: "Tishtrya (Sirius) is the General of the East, Sadwēs (Antares) is the General of the South, Wanand (Vega) is the General of the West, Haftōreng (Great Bear) is the General of the North, and Mēx-ī Gāh (Polaris),⁹ called also *Mēx-ī miyān āsmān* (the peg in the centre of the sky),

¹ Read : *ušan ham-baxšišnīh pad xxvii xwardag āmārišnīg*.

² For details see Note E at the end of this paper.

³ Read : *uš harwišp bundahišnān-ī gēlīg mādān aviš kard hēnd* (rather than *mānišn*), equivalent to : *uš ō harw. bund. . . . mādān k. h. ; mād* "house", etc., as Pahl. Ps. *m'nd-y*, Man. MPers. *mād*.

⁴ Restore : *harw aṣṭar-ē az awēšān < xii aṣṭarān >*.

⁵ Thus TD₂ and Ind. Bd. 6,480,000 is 60 × 60 × 60 × 30, i.e. the number of *tertiaē partes* (sixtieths of a second) contained in an arc of thirty degrees (= one *aṣṭar*). Hence, the total number of fixed stars was estimated as equal to the number of *tertiaē partes* in a circle, or 77,760,000. The manuscript DH. wrongly has 8,480,000.

⁶ Read : *spāhbedān spāhbed-ē abar awēšān spāhbedān gumārd*.

⁷ Read : *pad hamzōrih ud nērog-dādārih-ī awēšān aṣṭarān*.

⁸ *čēgōn gōvēd* is the usual formula to introduce a quotation. The implied subject of *gōvēd* "he says" is the author of the book or tradition quoted (cf. Arab. *qāla* in Muslim books). When the book cited happens to be the Avesta (as in our Bundahishn passage), the subject of *gōvēd* is the author of the Avesta, namely Ohrmazd according to Zoroastrian teaching (cf. Dinkard, pp. 9-10). In such cases *čēgōn gōvēd* (often amplified : *č. g. pad dēn*) corresponds to the Muslimic formula : *qāla* (or *qawluhu*) *ta'ālā*. The reading *gustēl* "it has been said" (as if the author of the Avesta were unknown) which Nyberg has proposed for *YMLLWN-yt* (JA., 1929, i, 264 ; *Hilfsb.*, ii, 84), not only violates the Pahlavi grammar, but is unacceptable also for semasiological reasons.

⁹ See Notes D, F, G at the end of this paper.

is the General of Generals.¹ Pārend, Mazdadād,² and others of that kind are Chief District-Commanders.”

[A 27⁶] The astronomers nowadays call these stars *inerrantes*,³ and instead of “large”, “small”, “medium”, they use the expressions “first magnitude”, “< second > magnitude”, “third < magnitude >”.⁴

[A 27⁸] (Ohrmazd) laid out this sphere (i.e. the zodiacal sphere) in the likeness of a year: the twelve constellations (zodiacal signs) like the twelve months, each constellation with its thirty degrees⁵ like a month with its thirty nycthemera.

[A 27¹¹] He posted the Great Bear to the northern direction where the hell was to be at the time of the aggressor's arrival. A tether ties each of the seven continents to the Great Bear, for the purpose of managing the continents during the period of the Mixture. That is why the Great Bear is called *Haftōreng*.⁶

[A 27¹⁵] Ohrmazd laid out the sphere of the fixed stars in the likeness of a spinning-wheel, so that⁷ at the time of the Mixture they (the stars) could start revolving.

[A 28¹] As another (sphere) on top of these < fixed stars > Ohrmazd placed the Unmixable Stars, for the purpose that at

¹ The remaining portion of the second chapter is omitted in the Indian Bd.

² Presumably two of the stars “whose names are known” mentioned before. Pārend = Av. Pārendi-? One can hardly read Pārend-i mazdadād.

³ Read: *stārag-i 'uyd'p'nyk = a-wiyābān-ig*. The latter word has survived in Persian as *biyābānī*, according to Ahmed b. 'Abd-al-Jalil Sagzī (cited by S. H. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, 335, n. 469) = “the fixed stars of the first to the third magnitude and the lunar mansions”. Since verbs derived from *wiyābān* mean “to lead astray” (*wiyābānēnīdan*, etc.), it becomes clear that *a-wiyābānīg* “not subject to being led astray” is a translation of ἀπλῆς, *inerrans*. The Persian astronomers naturally preferred this clear term to the ambiguous *aḫtar* (1) fixed star, (2) constellation, (3) zodiacal sign.

⁴ The copyists evidently did not understand this passage. They left out two, and wrongly divided one word (*n-hwstyn*). Read: *wuzurgih-i noxustin*, *wuzurgih-i < dudīgar, wuzurgih-i > sidīgar*. The first astronomer to classify the stars according to their “magnitudes” was Hipparchus (second century B.C.); he distinguished six magnitudes.

⁵ See Note B at the end of this paper.

⁶ These seven tethers constitute the “light” counterpart to the seven ties which connect the seven planets with the lower regions, and through which the planets exercise their influence upon terrestrial events. The inventor of this etymology of *Haftōreng* probably employed the word *rag* “vein” for these ties (*haft rag* “seven veins”) for which *band* “tie, tether” has been substituted here. In unpublished Manichaean texts MPers. *rag* (also Sogdian *r'k*) is actually in use for these invisible and indestructible connecting lines (besides words like *band*, cf. e.g. *Mir. Man.*, I, 196). A Sogdian passage (on the “dark” ties, from M 178): *'ty cn wyspw dywtty ky 'ty wy' nrxwzmyy βsty and wyx r'k 'ty pīšnd w'fnd 'ty ptyw'fnd*, “They wove to and fro roots, veins, and connections from all the demons who were imprisoned in the zodiacal circle.” The *Kephalaia*, chaps. 48 and 49, contain a detailed description of these pipe-lines (Coptic *lihme*).

⁷ Read: 'YK (DH.).

the time of the aggressor's arrival they should repel him in battle and not let him carry his pollution (lit. "mixing") higher up. As the General over them, Ohrmazd appointed the Tyche of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians. There it (= the sphere of the Unmixable Stars) is called: "the Corps of the Immortals," the manifestation of purity in the mixed state. They are called "Unmixable Stars" for this reason that at the time of the adversary's < arrival > they were not subjected to becoming mixed. The astronomers < nowadays > use the expression "the sphere above the sphere". This sphere lacks computation and precession (?),¹ since they (i.e. the astronomers) are unable to observe in the pure ones any characteristics of the mixed ones.²

[A 28¹⁰] Over that (sphere) Ohrmazd created the moon "in which the seed of the animals is stored" (= Av. *gaoēθra*). Over the moon he created the sun "whose horses are swift" (= Av. *aurvaṭ.aspa*). He appointed sun and moon to the chieftainship over the stars, the mixed ones as well as the unmixable ones, so that all of them should be tied to the sun and the moon. Over the sun he created the Throne of the Aməša Spəntas which is in contact with the Endless Light, the throne of Ohrmazd. These are the "six stations", six works corresponding to the six material creatures.³

[A 29²] Between the earth and the (lower) sphere⁴ Ohrmazd placed the wind, the clouds, and the lightning-fire, so that at the time of the aggressor's arrival Tishtrya, with (the help of) the transcendent water,⁵ could take the water and cause the rain to fall.⁶ He tied these also to the sun, the moon, and the stars. Thus Tishtrya, the General of the East, is the helper and assistant of the lightning-fire, the wind, and the clouds.

[A 29⁸] Among these stars, the large ones are like a piece of rock the size of a room,⁷ the medium-sized ones are like a

¹ Read: *uš angārag ud wiḥēz paḍiṣ nēst ? wiḥēz* "to leave, or progress (in an upwards direction)" (cf. Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, 60 sq.) is often confused with *wišēb* "to shake, toss", and with *nišēb* "below", in astrology = "dejection" (S. H. Taqizadeh, *l.l.*, p. 336; "*nišast*" is a misspelling of *nišēb*).

² On the two "spheres" see Note C at the end of this paper.

³ See Note C at the end of this paper.

⁴ Read: *miyān zam < ig ud > spihr*.

⁵ MSS. *pwn ZK-y ms mynwq ZK*, to be read: *pwn ZK MY'-y mynwgyk ?* Cf. 37⁶ *Tištṛ . . . hān āb stānēd, mēnōgihā ō wād abispārēd*, etc.

⁶ Read *tyštl* (TD₂ *twšytwl*) *MY' YNSBWN-yt, w'l'n w'lynyt*. Cf. 63¹⁵, 67⁴, 130¹⁰, 136¹⁻², 137¹, etc.

⁷ *ēč'-i ktk-ms'd* is evidently the same as Av. *asma katō.masā* Yt. 17, 20, cf. Vd. 19, 4. "Stone" fits also Gr.Bd. 19¹⁴ where Nyberg (*JA.*, 1929, i, 222, 291) offers the reading: *sēnmurv*! In that passage it is related that before the creation of the plants, etc., one-third of the surface of the earth was "hard as *ēč'-d'r*" (read

rolling¹ wheel,² the small ones like the head of the domesticated ox.³ The moon is the size of a racecourse of two *hāθras*, each geographical *hāθra* being about as much as a parasang of average length.⁴ The sun is the size of *Ērān-vēš*.

[A 29¹²] Before the aggressor's arrival, the moon, the sun, and the stars stood still, did not revolve. In purity they passed the time. It was noon perpetually. After the aggressor's arrival, they started revolving, and they will not stop revolving until the end (of the world).

[A 30¹] The velocity of the sun is that of a large three-feathered arrow which a large man shoots⁵ from a large bow. The velocity of the moon is that of a medium-sized three-feathered arrow which a medium-sized man shoots from a medium-sized bow. The velocity of the stars is that of a small three-feathered arrow which a small man shoots from a small bow.⁶ Among the fixed stars the following have the greatest velocity⁷: *Tishtrya* (Sirius), *Bašn* (Betelgeuse), *Ēš-s'r* = *sangsār*) = stony or rocky country, another was *gard-āgand* "filled with sand" (Nyberg: *vyarθ ayvand!* Cf. 136¹¹ *χāk ud gard* = 140¹⁴ *MY'-ly* = 'pl' = *χāk ud gard*; *wād-i gardag* "sand-storm"). Another clear passage is 140¹ where *Ēš* alternates with *sng* 139¹⁴. Considering that *Ēš* is (1) an ideogram, (2) the equivalent of *sang* "stone", it can be hardly anything but a strongly corrupt spelling of *KYP* (*Frah.*, xvi, 3; Syr. *k'p'* = *kēfā*). We have to keep apart the *Ēš* of *Frah.*, viii, 1 (one of the worst lines in that book) on which Nyberg based his explanation.

¹ Uncertain. The word (deceptively resembling *padīxw* "thriving") recurs 44⁹ as "revolving".

² Hardly *čahragān* "spinning-wheels"? Possibly to be read *č'hrkw'n* = *čahragwān*, cf. Man. MPers. *r'stw'n* "circuit, circumference" (= Pahl. "*r'stk'n*" Gr.Bd. 210¹⁰, corrupted "*rah-wirān*" Jamaspī, vii, 2, p. 49, ed. Messina? But see Pahl. *Riv. Dd.* 49¹¹, p. 160, ed. Dhabhar).

³ A similar comparison was contained in a lost Avestic text from which a few words are quoted in the *Frahang-i Oim*, iv a, p. 15, ed. Reichelt: "And the smallest of those stars are like the head of a medium-sized man."

⁴ The Avestic original to our passage probably merely said: "The moon is *čaratu-masah-*." On measures see *Note A* at the end of this paper.

⁵ The present is spelt *wh-* in Man. MPers. texts (e.g. in *M* 819), i.e. *weh-* from OIr. *wid-* (= Yagnobi *wid-*, Pashto *wul-*, etc.), cf. the *h* in Parachi *yuh-*.

⁶ Since the sun reappears in the same meridian about four minutes later than a star, and the moon 52.7 minutes later than the sun, we should expect the statement that the stars were swifter than the sun, and the sun swifter than the moon. However, according to the Bundahishn the lunar and solar spheres are further from the earth than the sphere of the stars so that, to keep pace with the stars, sun and moon have to travel at a considerably greater velocity to cover the greater distances of their orbits.

⁷ This statement is puzzling. That the "fixed" stars possess "proper motion" is a modern discovery (made by Halley in A.D. 1718), and the stars enumerated here (= lunar mansions 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, and Sirius) are not noteworthy for particularly great proper motion (except for Sirius and Procyon). Possibly the text means that the apparent absolute distance travelled by stars close to the equator is greater than that covered by stars near the poles during the same time (the angular distances measured in right ascension being equal); hence stars in proximity to the equator would appear to move quicker than others. Even so it is difficult to understand the reason for selecting only the stars enumerated here (all of which are fairly close to the equator).

**Triṣaḡ*¹ (Canis minor), "*Aparak*" (ζ Hydrae, etc.), "*Padēvar*" (β, γ Arietis?), and *Pēš-Parwīz* (41 Arietis, etc.).

[A 30⁸] The interval of time² from the sun's leaving a fixed star until his reaching it again³ is as much as thirteen months⁴⁵

NOTES ON ASTRONOMICAL TERMS, ETC.

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| A. Measures | E. Lunar mansions |
| B. Degree and minute | F. Satavaēsa |
| C. The spheres | G. Vanant |
| D. Polaris | H. Tištryaēni |

A. *Measures*. The Pahlavi commentators of Sassanian times did not know (and could not be expected to know) the exact value of the measures mentioned in the Avestic texts. Their lack of information is most noticeable in their comments on Av. *hāθra*, the basic OIr. road-measure, the length of which they determined variously as a parasang or a quarter-parasang. This is due to the fact that the measures current in Sassanian Persia were fundamentally different from those employed in ancient times. In the case of the *hāθra* they merely substituted the common road-measures of their own period. For the determination of the real length of the *hāθra* this has as much value as a modern translator's use of the word "mile" equally for, e.g. Russ. Verst and Pers. Farsang.

As regards the measures for short distances, the Avestic system, or rather that of the Vendidad and the Nirangistan, so closely resembles the common Greco-Roman system, as a whole and in all details, that its foreign origin can be taken for granted. It was presumably introduced into Persia by the Macedonian conquerors. The comparative table given below may be of use:—

| | | |
|-----------|----------|---|
| 1 finger | δάκτυλος | Av. <i>ərəzu</i> Pahl. <i>angust</i> "finger(-breadth)". |
| 2 fingers | κόνδυλος | Av. <i>baši</i> , <i>ibiši</i> , ⁶ Pahl. <i>bēk</i> "joint of a finger". |
| 4 „ | παλαιστή | Av. <i>ašti</i> "palm". |
| 8 „ | διχάς | Av. <i>uz-ašti</i> ("super-ašti") = 2 palms. |
| 10 „ | λχάς | Av. <i>dišti</i> "short span" (thumb and forefinger). |

¹ See Note H at the end of this paper.

² *miyān-drang*. On *drang* "period" see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, 319, 584.

³ i.e. a sidereal year.

⁴ Read *BYRH-xiii* (in the place of *BYRH-i iii*). Sidereal months are meant here. Thirteen sidereal months (355·17 days) are about as much as twelve synodical months (354·36 days), although rather less than a sidereal year.

⁵ The text is corrupt. I have failed to find the correct restitution. One could read *YNSBWN-yt* in the place of *YNSHWN-yt* (or *dōsānēt*), and *ŠBKWN-yt* in the place of *ŠDYTWN-yt*.

⁶ Presumably merely different spellings of the same word.

| | | |
|-----|------------------------------|--|
| 12 | „ σπιθαμή | Av. <i>vitasti</i> , Pahl. <i>vitast</i> “ (normal) span ”. ¹ |
| 16 | „ πούς | Av. <i>paḍa</i> , Pahl. <i>pāy</i> “ foot ”. ² |
| 24 | „ πήχυς | Av. <i>frārāθni</i> , Pahl. <i>frārāst</i> “ cubit ”. |
| 48 | „ βήμα of 3 ft. (Macedonian) | Av. <i>gāya</i> , <i>gāman</i> , Pahl. <i>gām</i> “ pace ”. ³ |
| 96 | „ ὀργυιά | Av. <i>viḇāzu</i> (Pahl. <i>jud-nāy</i>) “ fathom ”. ⁴ |
| 160 | „ κάλαμος (ἀκαυα) | Pahl. <i>nāy</i> “ reed, pole, perch ”. ⁵ |

Of different origin are the *hāθra* and its multiples, in particular the *tačar-* or *čaratu-* (*čaratā-*). These measures which are mentioned in texts older than the bulk of the Vendidad (Yashts, etc.), are originally Iranian, derived from horse-racing, a peculiarly Iranian sport. A *hāθra* is the length of a racecourse, a *čaratu* is a full round of the course, equalling two *hāθras* (*čaratu* : *hāθra* = *δίαυλος* : *στάδιον*). On Boghazköi *va-ša-an-na* (cf. Parth. *r'št-wzn*, *'xtr-wzn*) = Av. *čaratu-*, *tačar-* (cf. Parth. *tcr*) = MPers. *asprēs*, see Markwart, *Gāthā Ušt.*, p. 3, Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, pp. 169 sq. If we can accept the length indicated by Herzfeld, *l.l.*, p. 170, a *hāθra* would be about 700 metres long (3½ furlongs), roughly the length of the Greek *ἵππικόν* (4 *stadia*).

As stated above, the Pahlavi commentators define the *hāθra* as either the parasang or the quarter-parasang. Thus in the Bundahishn passage (29¹) translated above : 1 *hāθra* = 1 *frasang-i paimānīg* = parasang of normal, average length. The word *paimānīg* (from *paimān* “ correct measure, not too much and not too little ”) in connection with measures has the same value as the Greek *μέτριος* (cf. *μ. πήχυς*, Herodotus, i, 178); it is peculiarly applicable to the parasang the length of which was variable. In *Gr.Bd.* 63⁸, ¹² *ē frasang* renders the word *hāθra* of Yt. 8²³, ²⁹. On the other hand,

¹ The height of the average man is eight *vitasti* acc. to the Indian Bundahishn ch. xxvi (= *Gr.Bd.* 162¹ wrongly : six v.), or his own *viḇāzu* in *Gr.Bd.* 189⁷.

² The *Frahang-i Oīm* chapter on measures (xxvii) opens with the absurd statement that fourteen *angust* were a *paḍa*. It should have been obvious that 14 is merely a copyist's error for 16. In the same chapter the *vitasti* is described as of 12 *angust*, and the *frārāst* (= 2 *vitasti*) is defined as 1½ *paḍa*. Hence, 1 *paḍa* = 16 *angust* (as it should be).

³ Possibly the pace of 2½ feet (*gradus*) was also known, if ZK in *Frah. Oīm.* xxvii a, line 4 : *ēvaiti aēšaya*, *čand ZK angust*, should be a blunder for the numeral sign for xl (cf. Bartholomae *s.v.*). At any rate, Av. *gāman* is always of 3 feet. An alternative expression for *gāman* is *frobāzu* = ½ *viḇāzu*, see Bartholomae *s.v.*

⁴ Sogdian *wβ'z* (*Dhyāna* 88) renders Chinese *hsün*, a measure of eight *ch'ih* (each of ten *ts'un* “ inches ”). In the same passage, Chinese “ 16 *ch'ih* ” is translated as “ 16 *wyδ't'y* ”. As F. Weller, *Monumenta Serica*, ii, p. 394, rightly remarks one must conclude that the *wyδ't-* is the eighth part of the *wβ'z* = Av. *viḇāzu*, i.e. a span. This agrees with the meaning of connected words in modern East-Iranian dialects (Shighni *widēd* “ span ”, etc.), cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 262. The Sogdian translators took Chin. *ch'ih* for “ span ”, not “ foot ” (as European translators commonly do).

⁵ Common in Pahlavi texts, cf. e.g. Nyberg, ii, 154, *s.v.* *nāδ* (where *nāy-i paimānīg* should be read = perches of correct measure, or average length). Occasionally, *nāy* is used in the place of *jud-nāy* (thus *Gr.Bd.* 189⁸).

a *hāθra* is the fourth part (*čahār-ēwag*) of a parasang acc. to *Gr.Bd.* 113⁴⁻⁵. Referring to the circumference of Yima's Var which is 4 *čaratu* in *Vd.* 2²⁵, the author of the *Gr.Bd.* states that its eight *hāθras* equal two parasangs (68° and 94°⁶⁻⁷; the numeral signs are somewhat miswritten). A different way of expressing the same relation is used *Gr.Bd.* 161^{13/4}: a geographical *hāθra* is a parasang of 1,000 *gām-ī dō pāy*, i.e. 1,000 paces of the two feet = *milia passuum*, as West, *SBE.*, v, 98, correctly translated. It need hardly be said that the translation: 1,000 paces of 2 feet each (as proposed by Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, 522, and others), although linguistically unobjectionable, is entirely out of the question. In Sassanian times the Persians, of course, were familiar with the Roman mile. According to *Zādspram*, vi, 8 (K 35, fol. 239r. 2), the minimum-parasang was of 20,000 feet: this is the standard number of *Roman* feet in four Roman miles = one parasang.

Three definitions for the *hāθra* are given in the *Frah. Oīm*, xxvii (cf. Tavadia, *Šnš.*, 12 sq.): "the medium geographical *hāθra* (A) which one also calls *frasang*, (B) equals 1,000 paces of the two feet, (C) the walking of which is measured as equalling the passing of the time of the medium *hāθra* of the nychthemeron." In other words: (A) *hāθra* = parasang, (B) = quarter-parasang, (C) = parasang. (C) contains the common definition of the parasang as *an hour's way*. This interrelation of time and distance is correct for the parasang, not however for the *hāθra*, the ancient racecourse measure, despite the employment of the word *hāθra* for measures of time which arose in a later period and at a different stage of cultural development.

The same passage shows the true value of the "medium time-*hāθra*", as the *hour*. This can be proved also in a different way. According to much-quoted Pahlavi passages the longest day (night) is of 12 *hāθras*, the shortest day (night) of 6 *hāθras*, i.e. the longest day (night) was defined as of $\frac{1}{12} \times 24 = 2$ hours, the shortest night (day) as of $\frac{1}{6} \times 24 = 4$ hours. The *hāθra* employed here equals $\frac{2}{3}$ hours (1 h. 20 m.), or in other words, it is the *hour* ($\frac{1}{12}$ day) as measured on the longest day. Since we know that the time-*hāθras* were of variable length, we cannot escape the conclusion that they were simply *unequal hours* (*ὥραι καιρικαί*), i.e. a *hāθra* = the twelfth part of the natural day from sunrise to sunset.¹ This system of *unequal hours* (which from Babylon was introduced

¹ As far as I know this has not been understood before.

in Greece, too) is naturally inconvenient as such hours vary not only from day to day, but also according to the parallel of latitude. To gain an absolute measure of time it is necessary to choose the hour of a fixed day at a certain latitude as the standard unit. While the Babylonians very properly chose the hour of the days of equinox (i.e. the only days of equal length for all latitudes), the Iranians took three hours, viz. the hour of the longest day, the shortest day, and the "medium" day, evidently = equinoctial day. The relation of the lengths of these days is as $16^1:12:8$, the corresponding *hāθras* are 1 h. 20 m., 1 h., and 40 m. Accordingly, the longest day (of 16 hours) comprises 12 longest *hāθras*, or 16 medium *hāθras*, or 24 shortest *hāθras*. In the *Frahang-i Oīm*, xxvii b, a scribe has "corrected" these figures and written: the longest day has 12 longest, 18 medium, or 24 shortest *hāθras*, probably because he had in mind the relation of the day-lengths which is indeed $12:18:24$.

B. Degree and minute. The word for "degree" (of a circle) is spelt *sws* here (27¹⁰). Somewhat contorted it also occurs in the *thema mundi* (51⁴), see Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, p. 326, where a tentative reading (*sing*) is given. In another passage (53¹¹ sqq.) we have both "degree" and "minute": the maximum elongation of the outer planets is 180 *sws-y* (i.e. *sws* or *swš*) = degrees, that of Mercury is 1,350 (? MSS. 1,850) *lypyh*, and that of Venus 2,831 *lypyh* = minutes (i.e. $22^\circ 30'$, and $47^\circ 11'$ respectively). It seems that *lypyh* is corrupted from *lyp<ι>yh* = Greek λεπτή "minute" (cf. also Skt. *līptā*, and Chin. *li-to*, see Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen*, 160 [184] n.).² As to "degree", the Pahlavi word could be analysed in several hundred different ways, but at first sight one would read *sus* or *suš*. Now, in an unpublished Manichaean Sogdian fragment dealing with the movement of the

¹ The longest day is 16 hours long at the latitude of $48^\circ 43'$ (obliquity of the ecliptic = $23^\circ 42'$, as in the year ± 0), or rather, if "day" = time of visibility of any part of the sun disc, and allowing for refraction, at lat. $47^\circ 20'$. Including twilight, the proper latitude would be 37° approx. (allowing 1 h. 24 m. for morning + evening twilight, assumed to begin and end at the sun's zenith distance of 97°); at lat. 36° the longest day + twilight = 15 h. 51 m., and 15 h. 44 m. at lat. 35° . We can perhaps say that the longest day of the Pahlavi texts is based on conditions prevailing in Northern Persia, but that its length was rounded off to be twice that of the shortest night. The shortest day was simply decreed to be of equal length with the shortest night, without having regard to actual conditions. However, the entire scheme may have been borrowed from the Babylonians (cf. e.g. *Book of Enoch*, chaps. 72 sqq.)

² This explanation seems preferable to taking *lypyh* (*lpyh*, *lpy*) for the ideogram for *rēlak* (*rēdag*) "young child" (cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, 70 sqq.), hence possibly = "small, minutus"; the ideogram in question was originally *lpy* (*rabā*).

moon, a word *swš* occurs which seems to be "degree" (*w'fryδδ swš xrtyh βwt c'fryδδ ptšm'r wβyh* "the resulting number indicates the number of degrees passed", M 767). It is doubtful if the word can be derived from Greek *σάσσοσ*, Babl. *šuššu* "sixty, a unit of sixty", as the latter does not seem to have been used for "sixty minutes = a degree". The change in the sibilants (*šuššu*: Sogd. *suš*: Pahl. *sus* or *suš*) might be due to dissimilation.¹

C. *The Spheres*. The Zoroastrians originally distinguished four spheres: (1) stars, (2) moon, (3) sun, (4) paradise, to which the "station of the clouds" is sometimes added as a fifth and lowest. A *locus classicus* for this division is a passage from the Hadokht Nask *apud* Jamasp-Asana, *Pahl. Texts*, p. 172 (cf. also Barthelemy, *Guj. Ab.*, p. 55): *mānō stārō mānhō hvarō anayra raočā*, Pahlavi translation "cloud-station, star-station, moon-station, etc." (*Air, Wb.*, 1168 s.v. *mānō*, to be corrected accordingly). Cf. Y. I, 16, etc.

The later scheme of six spheres (or seven, with the "clouds") is due partly to mere juggling with numbers (six Aməša Spəntas, seven with Ohrmazd, etc.; cf. *Gr.Bd.* 194^s sqq.), but partly to the desire to fit in astrological concepts which (coming from Babylonia) had gained such wide acceptance in Persia that the leaders of the Zoroastrian Church could withhold their official recognition no longer. With this purpose in view the "station of the stars" was split up in two: the "Unmixable Stars" and the "Sphere" *par excellence*, i.e. the sphere of the ecliptic (including the spheres of the planets), which according to the astrologers exercises a far-reaching influence upon terrestrial beings and events. Together with the idea of this sphere (which is entirely alien to the original Zoroastrianism), the word for it was borrowed: Pahl. *spihr*, New Pers. *sipihr* = *σφαῖρα*. The derivation of *spihr* from Old Iranian which Noeldeke proposed (*Pers. Stud.*, i, 36 sqq.), is not convincing.² The *-h-* is due to faulty analogy (*mihr*, widely pronounced *mīr*; hence

¹ Another hitherto unrecognized MPers. word of Babylonian origin is Man. MP. *šwd'b* "companion" (in *h'm-šwd'b*, *BBB.*; differently Bailey, *BSOS.*, ix, 230) = Akkadian *šutapu* (Syr., etc., *šuttāpā*, *šuttāfā*). In unpublished Parthian texts *šwšmyn* "best man (at a wedding)" occurs, also originally Akkadian, cf. Syr. *šūšbīnā*. In MPers. fragments I noticed *m'l'h* "sailor" = Akk. *malaḫu* (Syr. *mallāḫā*).

² The name *Spithridates* on which Noeldeke based his opinion, does not prove the existence of an Old Ir. word *spiθra* "heaven" (anyway, *spihr* is not "heaven", but "sphere", hence also "fate"). For all we know, *Spithridates* could mean "having white teeth, λευκόδοῦς" (Av. *dātā*-, Pahl. *dāt* "tooth"). The first to suggest the identity of *spihr* with *σφαῖρα* was Lagarde.

spīr > *spīhr*).¹ Its unetymological nature is established by the spelling '*spyr*' in Manichæan texts.

Besides the Sphere proper, the only other part of the heavens to which the word *spīhr* is applied, is the "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", cf. e.g. *Gr.Bd.*, 194¹², *spīhr-ī agumēzišn*, *spīhr-ī gumēzišnāg* "the sphere free from mixture, and the sphere subject to mixture". This sphere was believed to lie beyond the Sphere proper. Apparently it is based on a stellar zone outside the zone of the ecliptic to which the "mixed" activities (such as eclipses, the movement of the planets, etc.) are confined. The "General" over this sphere is the Tyche (*Farreh*) of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians,² i.e. the deity presiding over and embodying the Zoroastrian Church (the term was borrowed by the Manichæans: MPers. *Farreh-ī Dēn*, Sogd. *dēnī-farn*,³ Uygur *Nom-qutī*, etc.; the Avestic equivalent is *Vamahi Daēna Māzdayasniš*, without *x^aarənah-*). In other passages (see below) the "Tyche of the Religion" is compared to a girdle around the sky. The word "girdle" naturally suggests the ζώνη⁴ of the ecliptic which, however, cannot be meant here. As there is only one other celestial phenomenon that could be likened to a girdle, we have to conclude that the seat of the "Tyche of the Religion" was assumed to be the Milky Way.⁵ The "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", therefore, is the *galactic sphere* (i.e. a sphere the greatest circle of which is the Milky Way); it was believed to encase the lower sphere (the greatest circle of which is the ecliptic). The remark on the "lack of computation and precession (?) " (28⁹) is justified; thus, the galactic latitude of a star is not subject to any change (save proper motion).

The paragraph on the "Unmixable Stars" has been translated (somewhat differently) by Nyberg, *JA.*, 1929, i, 298 sq. For a proper understanding it is necessary to consider the parallel passage,

¹ A similar case is possibly provided by the Parthian spelling of *zyncyhr* "chains" (Pers. *zanjīr*). The routine etymology (**zaina/i-tītra-*) is proved false by Sogdian *zynčry'kh* (P 2, 1065), in Man. script *jyncry'*. Bailey, *BSOS.*, x, 596, compares Saka *tcamgalai*.

² Cf. e.g. *DkM.* 130 1,2; Antia, *Paz.T.*, 212, *apu*.

³ In Sogdian this deity is even dubbed *synmzlyzn byyy*, *dēn-mazdayasn bayi* (M 140, unpublished; for the spelling, cf. *mzdyzn* Cowley, *Aram. Pap.*, nr. 37, 6, p. 133). The Manichæans, it is well known, unblushingly called their own religion (MPers.) *dyn-m'zdys*, *dēn-māzdēs*.

⁴ The Greek word appears in Parthian as *zwnws* (*Mir. Man.*, iii). The spelling is distressing, but not more startling than that of *θρόνος* in Parthian: *trnys* (*ibid.*, where the translation is wrong).

⁵ Under its common Persian designation, the galaxy is briefly referred to 60⁵. The interpretation of *Yasna* 9, 26, by Junker, *Aion-Vorst.*, p. 162, is unacceptable.

71⁴ sqq. : the tenth battle was fought by the Unmixable Stars when they did not let (*ŠBKWN-t*) the darkness and sinfulness carry their pollution higher up. As HE says : “He put on the Tyche of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians like a girdle, i.e. like a *kustīg*, decked with stars, by spirits made, three-fold with four knots, around the sky in that station.” These stars were fighting in <her> company until the end. *As I have written above*,¹ there it is called “the Corps of the Immortals”, demonstrating² purity in the mixed state. The comparison to the *kustīg* is further elaborated 193¹¹ sqq. The Avestan passage quoted here is very similar to *Yasna* 9, 26. See also *Dd.*, *Purs.* xxxviii, 14 sqq. (pp. 117 sq. *Anklesaria*).

In the preceding pages, *mādiyān-razm* (or *mādiyān-ī razm*) has been rendered : the Corps of the Immortals (Nyberg, loc. cit., *le livre de la bataille*). It seems to me that *mādiyān-razm* is a variation on the Sassanian designation of the “Immortals” which is known to us only from Armenian sources, as *gund-n matean*, or *matenik gund-n* (see Huebschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 192). The “Sphere of the Unmixable Stars”, interposed between the higher heavens and the zone of the dark powers, constitutes the last line of defence for the Light ; hence, some such term as “the Guards” seems a fitting description. The literal meaning of *mādiyān-razm* is presumably “the core of the battle-line” (*gund-n matean* = “the principal battalion”). *mādiyān* “essential, basic, core, capital” (frequent in the Dinkard ; Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, 305¹⁹, 306⁵⁵, 309¹¹, etc., rightly translates “chiefly”) should be kept distinct from *mādiyān* “book” (cf. Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, 58), originally “*commemorabilia, memoriae*” as Bartholomae, *Mir. Mund.*, v, 16 sq., assumed (now corroborated by a Sogdian gloss, *BBB.*, p. 128 *s.v.* *m’rδnyy*, where the remark on *gund-n matean* is to be cancelled).

D. Polaris. The correct reading of the Pahlavi name of the Polar Star has been established by S. H. Taqizadeh (loc. laud., 330 sqq.) : *Gāh* and *Mēχ-ī Gāh*, while *Mēχ-ī miyān āsmān* (an alternative name of the Polar Star according to *Gr.Bd.* 27³, 52³, etc.) properly should be “zenith”, *Mēχ-ī azēr zamīg* being “nadir”. It seems to me that a similar designation of the poles or the Polar Star can be traced in the Avesta. *Av. mərəzu* has been suspected of bein

¹ Thus the author of the Bundahishn refers the reader to the passage of the second chapter. Read *cygun* < *ZK-y* > *NPŠH npšt*, cf. 135⁶ et *passim*.

² *blyndnd* (DH. *blynd*) is not clear. It should be the equivalent of *paidāgih* (28⁵). Read *barēnd* ?

the name of a star, or a constellation, by most interpreters of the Avesta (see Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, 1174). Unfortunately the Pahlavi translation of Vd. 19, 42 (the only passage where *mərəzu* is found) is lost, but the New Persian version adduced by Hoshang Jamasp, *Vendidad*, p. 640, gives *Gāh* = Polar Star. Furthermore, *mərəzu* would be the ideal etymon of Ormuri *maḏwai*, Pashto *mōžai* "peg" (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 50, and *NTS.*, v, 24). Hence, the ordinary meaning of *mərəzu* apparently was the same as that of Pahl. *mēx*, Arab. *wataḏ*, etc. This would also furnish a satisfactory explanation of Av. *mərəzu* - "vertebra" (Kurd., etc., *mul*, *mil*, etc., "neck") as from "peg, pivot". It seems likely that *mərəzu*, as "pole", is a translation of Greek *πόλος* "pivot, axis, pole"; the Avestan passage in which *mərəzu* is found, is certainly of no great antiquity.

Bartholomae took *mərəzu* Vd. 19, 42, to be in the dual number; we could translate: "the two poles." However, the epithet accompanying *mərəzu*: "the best fighter among the creatures of both spirits," is obviously well suited to the Polar Star, the "General of Generals". There is no need for examining Hertel's rendering of *mərəzu* ("Venus") which has already been refuted by B. Geiger, *WZKM.*, xlv, 109 sqq.

E. Lunar Mansions. In Iranian, we have four lists of the Lunar Mansions: that of the Bundahishn in Pazend, a Sogdian list in Beruni's *Chronology* (p. 240), a Khwarezmian one given by the same authority (ibid.), and the list published by Freiman, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 2(3), 1938, 43 sqq., from a Sogdian manuscript. Freiman's list is throughout¹ identical with Beruni's Khwarezmian list (this has not been clearly recognized by the editor), so that for Sogdian we are left solely with Beruni's indications. An unpublished Manichæan Sogdian MS. (M 549) contained a further list, but only

¹ i.e. wherever the reading is sufficiently clear to enable one to judge. One name (No. 15) has been left out in Freiman's manuscript, evidently by mistake (owing to the similarity of the following name). There are, however, some small differences in the form of the names, those in Beruni's book showing traits typical of Khwarezmian, those in Freiman's list having a distinctly Sogdian aspect. Several of these variations are due merely to the different age of the two lists. Thus we have: No. 12 Fr. *wyšprn* = Ber. *ʾxšprn* (*uḫšafarn*), No. 9 Fr. *my* = Ber. *ʾmy*, No. 17 Fr. *šʾrnt* = Ber. *šʾrynd* (*šārend*), etc. Noteworthy is No. 13 Fr. *ʾstrwšk* or *ʾstrwšk* = Ber. *šwšk*, the latter form recurring in late Uyğur lists which otherwise give merely the Skt. names, for Skt. *Viśākhā* (No. 14), see Rachmati, *T.T.*, vii, p. 55 (on 1, 18). For No. 24 Freiman's list gives a shortened form, *βrwšt* = Beruni Khw. *frxšbyθ* = Beruni Sogd. *fršt* *θ* (all adapted from Skt. [*pūrva*]-*proṣṭhapada*). Beruni uses an abbreviation for No. 25, *wbyr*, in the place of *wbyr-frxšbyθ* = Fr. *prw-βrwšt* = Beruni Sogd. *pr-fršt* (also shortened) = Man. Sogd. *prw-frwzšpδ*; *wbyr* = *ubir* is the late Khwarezmian form of the same word as Sogd. *prw-* (= Skt. *uttara-*), Av. *aparam*.

a few words from its end are preserved. We learn that the total number of the mansions was 28 (*ii qmbyy xxx pšmyrtyy* = *duode-triginta*), and that the mansions of *m'sy'g* = *Pisces* were [*frwzš*] *pδδ prw frwzšpδ 'tyy* [*ryw'*] *ndyy*¹ = Nos. 24, 25, 26 of Beruni's list. This shows that the Manichæan catalogue began with No. 27 = Skt. *Āśvinī*, like the Bundahishn, while Freiman's list and the two lists given by Beruni commenced with the Pleiades = Skt. *Kṛttikāh*.² For the identification of individual mansions it is important to know that Beruni's Sogdian list agrees most closely of all with Skt. This is manifest in those cases where the name was borrowed from Skt. Thus we have³ :—

Skt. No. 8 *Maghā* = Sogd. No. 8 *my* but No. 9 in Khw. and Fr.
Skt. No. 26 *Revatī* = Sogd. No. 26 *rēwand*, but No. 27 in Khw. and Fr.

It is a matter for regret that with few exceptions (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, in *Gr.Bd.* 30⁷, 51⁴, 61¹¹, 72⁵, etc.) the names of the Pahlavi lunar mansions are preserved only in a Pazend transcription on which West, *SBE.*, v, 11, n. 3, rightly remarked : “ the Pazend names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, etc.” Lists of the Pazend forms (here not repeated) are available *apud* West, *ibid.*, and Taqizadeh, *loc. cit.*, 204 sqq.

The first point to be settled is the number of the mansions in Pahlavi. It is not twenty-eight as West assumed on the strength of the numeral characters in the Indian Bundahishn, but twenty-seven. The two available MSS. of the Great Bd. write xxvii. Taken by itself this is of little or no value as all copyists of Pahlavi texts were in the habit of writing numeral signs according to their own lights. More important is that there are only twenty-seven names ; for the last words, Paz. *kahtsar vaht miyān kaht*, evidently represent only three names (not four), viz. *kaht-sar*, **kaht-miyān*, *kaht* = the head of K.,⁴ the middle of K., K. *par excellence*. A similar set of names occurs in the middle of the list where in the place of *nahn miyān avdēm* (Nos. 10, 11, 12) we have to restore : *naχw*, *miyān*, *abdum* = beginning, middle, and end, viz. of *Leo*.

¹ The question whether the Manich. catalogue agreed with Beruni's Sogdian list, or with his Khwarezmian list and that of Freiman's manuscript, depends solely on the acceptance of this rather doubtful restitution.

² Of Rachmati's Uyyur fragments, some start with *Kṛttikāh*, some with *Āśvinī* ; the Arabs began with *āš-šaraṭāni* = *Āśvinī*.

³ But Skt. No. 23 *Satabhīṣaj* = Sogd. No. 22 *sdmysš* (? Sachau *šōmsšyr*) = Fr. No. 22 *stmysš* = Khw. No. 22 *sdmysy*.

⁴ “ *Kaht* ” = name of a constellation. The transcribed form suggests *Cetus* (κῆτος, Syr. *q'ṭ* and *qyṭ*), but this works out only moderately well.

A passage from the third book of the Dinkard (403²¹ sqq., ed. Madan), recently translated by Nyberg (*Mazd. Kal.*, 34 sqq.), gives the lunar mansions within which the first points of Aries, Cancer, Libra, and Capricornus lay.¹ Aries began with *Plyspl*,² clearly = Pahl. *Pty spl*, *Ptspl*, Paz. *Padēvar*, the first lunar mansion according to the Bundahishn (= Skt. *Āśvinī*). In other words, the lunar mansions were counted from the point of the vernal equinox. Now, if the number of the mansions were twenty-eight the first point of Cancer would coincide with the beginning of the eighth lunar mansion (since seven mansions = 90° exactly), but it should fall within the seventh mansion if the total number was twenty-seven (one mansion = $\frac{360^\circ}{27} = 13^\circ 20'$, hence the seventh mansion from 80° to 93° 20'). The latter is the case according to the Dinkard :

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Aries . . . | 0° " <i>Plyspl</i> " | = Bd. " <i>Padēvar</i> " | No. 1 = 0°·00–13°·33 |
| Cancer . . . | 90° " <i>Lhyt</i> " | = Bd. " <i>Rahvat</i> " ³ | No. 7 = 80°·00–93°·33 |
| Libra . . . | 180° " <i>Stl</i> " | = Bd. " <i>Spur</i> " ⁴ | No. 14 = 173°·33–186°·66 |
| Capricornus . . . | 270° " <i>TWR</i> " | = Bd. " <i>Gā</i> " ⁵ | No. 21 = 266°·66–279°·99 |

When the system of the lunar mansions was (from India) introduced into Persia, a completely new set of names was created. As in India, the names were taken from the most prominent stars or constellations in the neighbourhood of the ecliptic that were found within the limits of longitude (progressing by 13° 20') prescribed by the system. While after the introduction the system probably was applied mechanically merely as a mode of indicating the longitude, it is highly improbable that at the moment of introduction the longitude of the parent stars should not have been within the limits of longitude required by the lunar mansions which took their names from those stars. This is the minimum to be expected from the adaptation, namely that the system should have been made to fit the sky.

If this point is conceded it will be possible to determine the time when the lunar mansions were brought into use in Persia, provided a sufficient number of their names can be identified satisfactorily. Proceeding from No. 3 *Parwīz* = Pleiades, we have

¹ Nyberg has not seen that the passage refers to the lunar mansions.

² Presumably misspelling.

³ = Pahl. **lhw*. It is difficult to say which form (*lhw* or *lhyt* ?) is right.

⁴ = Pahl. **spwl*; *stl* probably incorrect.

⁵ Pahl. *gāw* = ideogr. *TWR*. *DkM.* has *twy twr* (Nyberg's **dūt-gāw*), but *twy* should be cancelled (the scribe miswrote *twy* in the place of *TWR*, and corrected himself without striking out the wrong form).

No. 4 = Aldebaran, No. 5 *Azēsar*¹ (presumably translation of Skt. *Mrgaśiras*) = λ' *Orionis*, etc., No. 6 *Bašn* = Betelgeuse, No. 7 probably = Castor and Pollux. Further on, No. 10 **Naḫw* most likely = Regulus, and No. 20 undoubtedly = Vega (see below *Note G*). The preceding mansion, No. 19, is the "sting of the scorpion" (λ , κ , θ *Scorpii*, etc.), see below *Note F*, and No. 22, **Yōγ*,² probably represents Altair. The table below gives the longitudes of these stars (or of one of them where the name refers to a cluster of stars) for the Sassanian period³; at its margin the reader will find the number of the corresponding Pahlavi lunar mansions (col. 1), and the limits of their longitudes (col. 2):—

| | | | A.D. 300 | A.D. 400 | A.D. 500 | A.D. 600 | A.D. 700 |
|----|-------------------|---------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 3 | 26° 66'–39° 99' | η <i>Tauri</i> | 36° 34' | 37° 72' | 39° 11' | 40° 49' | 41° 88' |
| 4 | 40° 00'–53° 33' | α <i>Tauri</i> | 46° 10' | 47° 49' | 48° 89' | 50° 28' | 51° 68' |
| 5 | 53° 33'–66° 66' | λ' <i>Orionis</i> | 60° 04' | 61° 43' | 62° 81' | 64° 20' | 65° 58' |
| 6 | 66° 66'–79° 99' | α <i>Orionis</i> | 65° 08' | 66° 47' | 67° 86' | 69° 26' | 70° 65' |
| 7 | 80° 00'–93° 33' | α <i>Geminorum</i> | 86° 63' | 88° 02' | 89° 40' | 90° 79' | 92° 18' |
| 10 | 120° 00'–133° 33' | α <i>Leonis</i> | 126° 29' | 127° 67' | 129° 04' | 130° 42' | 131° 80' |
| 19 | 240° 00'–253° 33' | λ <i>Scorpii</i> | 240° 94' | 242° 32' | 243° 71' | 245° 09' | 246° 48' |
| 20 | 253° 33'–266° 66' | α <i>Lyrae</i> | 261° 54' | 262° 93' | 264° 31' | 265° 71' | 267° 12' |
| 22 | 280° 00'–293° 33' | α <i>Aquilae</i> | 277° 84' | 279° 24' | 280° 65' | 282° 05' | 283° 46' |

A glance at this table shows that the date which fits best is about A.D. ± 500 . A *terminus post quem* is provided by No. 6 (A.D. 413 approx.), and No. 22 (A.D. 454 approx.), whilst a *terminus ante quem* is given by No. 3 (A.D. 564 approx.), and No. 20 (A.D. 668 approx.). We know from other sources that under Sassanian rule there were two periods of contact with Greek and Indian science during which the study of astronomy was promoted: one under Shapur I after the conclusion of the Roman war,⁴ the other "towards the end of the Sassanian period", possibly under Khosrou I or even a little earlier.⁵ We may conclude that the introduction of the Pahlavi lunar mansions took place during the second period.⁶ Incidentally,

¹ = "goat's head"? However, the reading of *'pysr* = "crown" is equally possible.

² Pazend *gōz*. In Pahlavi script, *gōy* "ball" and *yōγ* "yoke" are indistinguishable. I read *Yōγ* because that is the name of the equivalent (21st) Sogdian and Khwarezmian lun. man. (corresponding to Skt. No. 21 *Śravaṇa* = Altair). The longitude of the 22nd Pahlavi l.m. is 280°–293° 20', that of the 21st Sogdian mansion should be 282° 53'–295° 45'.

³ Based on the values for right ascension and declination (interval of 100 years) in Neugebauer's *Tables* (*Chr. i*).

⁴ See S. H. Taqizadeh, *BSOS.*, ix, 133 sqq.

⁵ See Nallino's paper in *A volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, and cf. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, 316–322; *BSOS.*, ix, 136 sq.

⁶ This conclusion, however, is necessarily based on the assumption that the Persian astronomers were able to find the point of the vernal equinox and to measure the longitudes fairly accurately, and that they exercised some care in fixing the lunar mansions.

we would gain a valuable date *post quem* for a number of hitherto undatable Pahlavi passages in which the lunar mansions are involved, such as the *thema mundi* in the Bundahishn.¹

F. Satavaēsa. There are nearly as many opinions on the identity of this star as translators of the Avesta. Perhaps the most plausible view so far advanced is that Satavaēsa is Canopus, Suhail (proposed by Kharegat and accepted by Taqizadeh). The main objection to this identification lies in the great southern declination of Suhail, by reason of which it cannot be seen north of lat. 37° approx. Those scholars who are inclined to find the "home of the Avesta" in North-Eastern Iran (e.g. in Merv), will be unable to accept Kharegat's opinion. As far south as Balkh (lat. 36° 46') where in 500 B.C. it was above the horizon for only 1 h. 9 m. on any one day, at a maximum altitude of not more than 19 minutes, Canopus may have been sighted under exceptionally favourable circumstances, but was certainly not fitted for the role of the "General of the South". Moreover, Satavaēsa occurs as part of the designation of a Sogdian lunar mansion, No. 17, *myn-Sdwys*, and there is no doubt that Canopus never has been (nor ever will be) observed in Sogdiana. The 17th Sogdian lunar mansion corresponds to the 17th Indian lunar mansion, *mūla*, to the 19th Pahlavi lunar mansion, "*grafša*,"² and to the 19th Arabian lunar mansion, *aš-šaulah* all of which refer to the "sting of the scorpion" (Ar. *mi'bar al-aqrab*). Although the meaning of Sogdian *myn* (possibly misspelt) is not known, we may safely infer that *myn-Sadwēs* is a kind of appendix to that star (or constellation) that bore the name of *Sadwēs*. Since the "sting of the scorpion" forms an appendix to the "scorpion", it follows that *Sadwēs* is *Scorpio*, or rather the

¹ The ascendant is given as *Cancer* 19°, the time being noon of the day of the vernal equinox. At that moment Sirius was rising. Should these data reflect actual conditions (correctly observed), it should be possible to determine the latitude of the observer, and the date of the observation. So far as I have been able to calculate the latitude would be 40° 33', the time B.C. \pm 330 (a point $\lambda = 109^\circ$, $\beta = 0^\circ$ is rising, or $\alpha = 110^\circ 37'$, $\delta = +22^\circ 22'$; hence $\phi = 40^\circ 33'$; Sirius' hour angle at rising = its right ascension; position of Sirius in B.C. 330: $\alpha = 75^\circ \cdot 6$, $\delta = -16^\circ \cdot 24$). The result (Northern Sogdiana at the time of Alexander's invasion) is rather unsatisfactory, probably because the data are unreliable.

² Presumably misreading of *drafsaq* (1) "banner," (2) "hem," but most suitably (3) "awl" = NPers. *dirafs*, *durōš* "awl". The names of the preceding lunar mansions are (in Pazend): No. 16 *srōb*, *srōi*, *srub*, No. 17 *nur*, *nōr*, No. 18 *gelu*, *gaclu*. I should like to suggest the following restorations: No. 16 *srūy* "claws", No. 17 *var* "breast, front", No. 18 *dil* "heart", namely of *Scorpio*. Note that the Arabic name of No. 18 is also "heart" (*qalb*). [No. 16, Persian *du surūyi gaždum*, Beruni, Pers. *Tafhim*, p. 111; cf. Greek $\chi\eta\lambda\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Sigma\kappa\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$, Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, i, 9, p. 24 (p. 50 ed. Robbins, 1940); *ibid.*, "*grafša*" = $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\rho\nu$ = *niš-i gaždum*.]

chief star of that group, namely Antares. The identity of Satavaēsa with Antares had already been suggested by West, *SBE.*, v, 12 sq. (although from erroneous premisses). The altitude of Antares in culmination was $35^{\circ} 52'$ in Balkh (40° approx. in Babylon) in 501 B.C., and $33^{\circ} 33'$ in Balkh ($37^{\circ} 49'$ in Babylon) in 1 B.C.

G. Vanant. There is *īṣmā'* on the identity of this star, viz. = Vega. S. H. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, 335, n. 470, has already drawn attention to the appearance of *Vanant* in the list of the Sogdian lunar mansions, No. 20 (*Vanand*). The equivalent Indian lunar mansion is No. 20 *Abhijit* = Vega. But *Vanant* is also employed as the name of one of the Pahlavi lunar mansions, namely No. 20. The Pazend form is *Varant* = Pahlavi *wlnd*, a common Pahlavi spelling of *Vanant* (showing dissimilation *n-n : r-n*). The equation of *Varant* = Vega has already been utilized in *Note E* above.

H. Tištryaēnī. Since *Tištrya* is *Canis major*, *Tištryaēnī* would appear to be *Canis minor*. According to a much discussed passage in the *Tištr Yasht* (*Yt.* 8, 12), *Tištryaēnī* is one of the *afščiθra* stars, i.e. stars whose heliacal rising presages the advent of the rainy season. *Tištrya* itself, the Pleiades, and *Upapaoirī* are other *afščiθra* stars. A line in the Great Bundahishn provides some elucidation: "The *āp-ēihrag* (= Av. *afščiθra*) stars are: *Tištr*, *Tlyšk*, "*Padevar*," *Pēš-Parwīz*, and the six stars that are called *Parwīz* (Pleiades)" (72⁵). With the exception of "*Padevar*" (the first lunar mansion), these are the same stars as the ones mentioned in the *Tištr Yasht*, hence *Upapaoirī* = *Pēš-parwīz* "the stars in front of the Pleiades" (the second Pahlavi lunar mansion), and *Tištryaēnī* = *Tlyšk*. This effectively disposes of the usual identification of *Upapaoirī* with Aldebaran, which Andreas (*apud* Lommel, *ZII.*, v, 58) supported by referring to the Sogdiano-Khwarezmian name of Aldebaran; that, however, was not *b'brw* (*p'prw*) as Sachau's Beruni MSS. have, but *prprw* (*brbrw*) as we have learned from Freiman's list (where *prprw'k*) = "the star following upon the Pleiades".¹ As regards *Tlyšk*, this is one of the numerous possible readings of the Pahlavi characters which the Pazendist was pleased to read as *Taraha*. And "*Taraha*" is the name of the eighth Pahlavi lunar mansion the longitude of which is $93^{\circ} 20' - 106^{\circ} 40'$. In A.D. 500 the longitude of Procyon, the chief star of *Canis minor*, was $95^{\circ} 14'$, i.e. at that time Procyon was eligible as the leading star of the eighth lunar mansion. Now, the name of

¹ [Persian *pas-ravande-i Parvīn*, Beruni, Pers. *Tafhīm*, p. 108.]

the corresponding Khwarezmian lunar mansion (No. 6 = Skt. *Tiṣya/Puṣya*) is *tsyry*, apparently not different from the Khwarezmian form of Old Ir. *Tišt̥rya* (also spelt *tsyry*). It seems clear that this *tsyry* derives from a prototype similar to *tišt̥rya-* (e.g. *tišt̥ryā-* or *tišt̥ryaka-*) which had the same meaning as Av. *tišt̥ryaēnī* (note the absence of the same suffix in the Khwarezmian form of Av. *paoiryaēnī* which is *prwy*). The same prototype will serve also for Pahlavi *Tlyšk*, presumably = *Trišag*. Phonetically, one could compare Jewish Persian *trwš* "ram" which is connected with Man. MPers. *twštr* (*nrmyš*, *twštr*, "hug in an unpublished fragment of the *Kawān*), cf. Rīšahri *tīštār* "she-goat", or Man. MPers. *Zrdrwšt*.

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The Book of the Giants

By W. B. HENNING

ISAAC DE BEAUSOBRE, the Huguenot author of one of the best books ever written on Manichæism (*Histoire critique de Maniché et du Manichéisme*, Amsterdam, 1734, 1739), was the one to make the only sound suggestions on the sources used by Mani for the compilation of his *Book of the Giants*: the *Book of Enoch*, and the *Γραφή τῶν Γιγάντων* which Kenan, a great-grandson of Noah, discovered lying in a field (vol. i, 429, n. 6). The latter work has been identified by Alfarić (*Les Écritures Manichéennes*, ii, 32) with a book whose contents are briefly indicated in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, p. 54, ll. 298-9 (ed. Dobschütz): *Liber de Ogia* ¹ *nomine gigante qui post diluvium cum dracone ab hereticis pugnassee perhibetur apocryphus*. Of the *Book of Enoch*, which was composed in the Hebrew language in the second century B.C., only an Ethiopic version, a few Greek fragments, and some excerpts made by the Byzantine chronographer Georgius Syncellus survive.² Mani, who could hardly read the Hebrew, must have used an Aramaic edition based directly on the Hebrew text (see below, *Šhmyz'd*). He quotes mainly from the first part, which Georgius S. (p. 45, Fl.-R.) called "the first book of Enoch on the Egrēgoroi", but shows himself acquainted also with the subsequent chapters.³

It is noteworthy that Mani, who was brought up and spent most of his life in a province of the Persian empire, and whose mother belonged to a famous Parthian family,⁴ did not make any use of the Iranian mythological tradition. There can no longer be any doubt that the Iranian names of *Sām*, *Narīmān*, etc., that appear in the Persian and Sogdian versions of the *Book of the Giants*, did not figure in the original edition, written by Mani in the Syriac language.⁵ His disciples, who, it is well known, were in the habit of

¹ Numerous variants (p. 126, Dobschütz), e.g. *de ogiae*, *de oggie*, *diogiae*, *diogine*, *diogenes*, *de ozia*, *de ugia*, *de ugica*, *de ogiga*, *de eugia*, *de negia*, *de eugenia*, etc. In Migne's *Patrologia Latina* the text is in vol. 59, 162-3.

² See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 2nd ed., 1912. For the Greek fragments (and Georgius S.) the edition by Flemming and Radermacher (= *Fl.-R.*) is quoted here. For Mani's use of the Enoch literature see my papers in *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 27-32, and in *ZDMG.*, 90, 2-4.

³ See below A 86-94, and compare G 19-21 with *Enoch* 67, 4, and G 38 with *Enoch* 17, 1; 21, 7; 54, 6; 67, 4-13. On chaps. 72 sqq. see *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 32.

⁴ Namely the *Kamsarakan-k'* (mentioned often in the Armenian history of the fourth century) who claimed descent from the royal house of the Arsacids. This is clear from the Chinese-Manichæan text that preceded the *Fragment Pelliot*, now printed in the Taishō Tripiṭaka as No. 2141a, vol. 54, p. 1280A, but hitherto untranslated: "He was born in the country of Sulin (= Babylonia), in the royal abode of 跋帝 *B'uāt-tiei* (= *Patī-g*), by his wife 滿艷 *Muān-īām* (= *Maryam*) of the family of 金薩健 *Kīēm-sāt-g'īn* (= *Kamsar(a)gān*)." The name *Κάποσσα* in the Byzantine formula of abjuration (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, i, 1468) may be corrupted from *Kamsar*. Thus there is a grain of truth in the assertion in the *K. al-Fihrist*, 327, 31, that Mani's mother had belonged to the Arsacid house; *ibid.*, *Maryam* (ed. *marmaryam*) is given as one of her names.—It is not proposed to discuss the origin of Mani's father here.

⁵ I have abandoned my earlier opinion on this point (*ZDMG.*, 90, 4) which was based on insufficient material. The important Sogdian fragment, text H, was not then known to me.

translating *every* word of a text (including the names of months, deities, etc.), have seen fit also to “translate” the names of the giants. Thus *Sām* is merely the translation of *Ohya*. However, they kept some of the original names (e.g. *Šhmyz’d*), and adapted some others (e.g. *Wrwd’d*).¹

The story of the fallen angels and their giant sons needed little adaptation to be fitted into Mani’s system. Of course, the heavenly origin of the *B’nē-hā-Elōhīm*² of Genesis vi, 2, 4, the *Ἐγγήγοροι* of the *Book of Enoch*, did not square with Mani’s conviction that no evil could come from good. Therefore he transformed them into “demons”, namely those demons that when the world was being constructed had been imprisoned in the skies, under the supervision of the *Rex Honoris*. They rebelled and were recaptured, but two hundred of them escaped to the earth. Mani also used the term *Ἐγγήγοροι* (preserved in Coptic, see texts L, M, P, S), or rather *’yr* in Aramaic (once in a Middle Persian fragment, text D), but in Eastern sources they are mostly referred to as “demons” (Pers. *dyw’n*, Parth. *dyw’n* in T 6, Sogd. *dywt* in G, H 17, K 7, *cytyt* in E, *dywt ZY ykšyšt* in H 16).

The puzzling clause of Genesis vi, 4: “The Nephilim were on the earth in those days,” was interpreted by Mani in this fashion: “when the *Egrēgoroi* descended, the animals, or proto-animals, were already in existence.” Mani confused *nafīlīm* with *nefāl* (*nāfāl*) = *ἐκτρωμα*: see Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, 43 (1889), 536, who rightly referred to the formula of abjuration (*P.Gr.*, i, 1461) where the giants and the “abortions” are mentioned in one breath. In Manichæan parlance, “abortion” (cf. also MPers. *’bg’ng*, Sogd. *pš’q*) is synonymous with “animal”.

We are therefore left with the *Gibbōrīm*, understood by Mani³ as “giants”. He probably used the equivalent Syriac word, *gabbārē* (*gnbr’*), which his disciples translated as *γίγαντες*, *al-ḡabābirah* in Arabic, MPers. and Parthian *k’w’n*, Sogd. *kwyšt* = *kawišt* (Sing. *qwy*, *kw’y* = *kawi*); cf. *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 30. In Sasanian times the words derived from the Avestan *Kavi* were generally understood as “giant”; see Benveniste, *MO.*, xxvi, 214, and Polotsky in *Mir.Man.*, iii, 901. Thus MPers. Parth. *k’w* is freely used in Manichæan texts, e.g. of the Father of Light (M 40), of solar deities, of leading Manichæans (both in *Mir.Man.*, iii), also of the First Man and Ahriman⁴ with reference to the First Battle (which therefore could have been described as a *γίγαντομαχία*).⁵

¹ See *BSOS.*, viii, 583; *ZDMG.*, 90, 4. [Cf. also Bal. *girōk*, Geiger, No. 107.]

² Cf. also Parthian *bgpuhr’n*, Sogd. *βγπύτ*, lit. “sons of God” = angels (also fem. Sogd. *βγπwryšt*). Thus *bgpuhr* has a double meaning in Parthian, it being (Sogd. *βγpwr*) also the translation of Chin. *T’ien-tzū*, or rather of Skt. *devaputra*.

³ Herein he differed from the common interpretation of the passage (Nephilim = giants), shared also by the authors of the *Book of Enoch*.

⁴ M 41: *’br q’rc’r ’wṭ zmbg ’stft cy ’whrmzyzdbg qyrd ’d dyw’n: dw q’w’n ’wṭ dw nyw’n*.

⁵ This word, in the anti-Manichæan book by Alexander Lycopolitanus, p. 8, 10, ed. Brinkmann, refers neither to the Manich. “First Battle”, nor to Mani’s *Book of the Giants*, as Cumont, *Rech.*, i, 3; ii, 160 sq., erroneously states. Cumont goes so far as to say that in the quoted passage Alexander had given a summary of Mani’s work, and Benveniste, *MO.*, xxvi, 213, has repeated this statement. In fact, Alexander says that experts in Greek mythology might quote, from

However, the word *k'w* is applied only to men and such beings as are imagined anthropomorphous. Where one would translate γίγας as *monster*, the Iranian equivalent is *mzn*, *Mazan*. Thus the γίγας τῆς θαλάσσης (*Kephalaia*, 113 and notes), whose breathing operations are responsible for ebb and flow (cf. also Beruni, *India*, 203, 10–11), is called *Mzn 'y (z)rhyg*¹ in Middle Persian (M 99, V 22–3). Accordingly, MPers. *mzn* (adj.² and noun) and the related words, Pahl. *māzan*, *māzanīg*, Sogd. *mzny'n.δyw*, Av. *māzainya-*,³ should be rendered as “monster”, or “gigantic, monstrous”.

The Egrēgoroi and their giant progeny are fought and vanquished by four archangels: Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Istraël (*Enoch*, 10, 1; or: Uriel, or: Fanuel). In the *Book of the Giants* they are called “the four angels”. They are frequently invoked by name in Manichæan prayers (e.g. M 4 d 19, f 6; M 20), as *Rwp'yl*, *Myz'yl*, *Gbr'yl*, and *Sr'yl* (= Istraël).

There were no details about individual feats of the giants in the *Book of Enoch*. Mani filled the gap with the help of the above-mentioned *Liber de Ogia nomine gigante*. This *Ogias* has been identified with *Og of Bashan*,⁴ who according to late sources lived five thousand years and managed to survive the Deluge, thanks to his giant size.⁵ But possibly stories that primarily appertained to *Ogias* were transferred to the better known *Og*, owing to the resemblance of their names. The name of *Ogias* is 'why' ('why') = *Ohyā* (*Ohyā*) in the Manichæan fragments, and this spelling is presumably more correct than that of *Ogias*. *Og* ('wg) indubitably would appear as 'wg (or: 'wg). Since Mani took 'why' from an Aramaic text, the ending of *Ogias* cannot be regarded as a Greek addition.

Ogias fought with a *draco*, and so did *Ohya*; his enemy was the Leviathan (text N). *Ohya* and his brother *Ahya* were the sons of *Šhmyz'd* (text H), i.e. Σεμιάζας, the chief of the Egrēgoroi in the *Book of Enoch*; hence, Σεμιάζας is transcription of *šhm-* (or *šhm-*?). In the Persian edition of the *Kawān* *Ohya* and *Ahya* are “translated” as *Sām* and *Narīmān*, but the original names are kept in one passage (A 60). The translator did well to choose *Sām-Krsāsp*, both with regard to *Ogias*' longevity (*Sām* is one of the “Immortals”) and to his fight with the dragon (*Sām* is a famous dragon-killer). In the Sogdian

the Greek poets, the Greek γιγαντομαχία, as a parallel to the Manich. doctrine of the rising by the Hyle against God. In ch. 25 (p. 37, 13 sqq.) Alexander explains that such poetical fables about giants could not be regarded as a satisfactory parallel, because they were myths and meant to be understood as allegories. He then (37, 17) quotes the story of *Genesis* vi, 2–4, which he provides with an allegorical explanation. But he ascribes it to the *History of the Jews* without even mentioning the *Book of the Giants*. This shows conclusively that he had no knowledge of Mani's book.

¹ Jackson, *Researches*, 37, 67 sq., has “poisonous mass”; cf. *OLZ.*, 1934, 752.

² Hence the comparative *mzndr* (e.g. *Mir.Man.*, i) and the superlative Pahl. *māzan-tum* (e.g. *Dd.*, p. 118, 12 ed. Anklesaria).

³ Clearly to be derived from Av. *mazan-* “greatness”. Cf. also Jackson, loc. cit., on *mzn*. Hence, the first part of the name of *Māzandarān* probably = “gigantic”.

⁴ Thus Dobschütz, *Decret. Gelas.*, p. 305.

⁵ Dobschütz, loc. cit., who quotes Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr.*, 799 sq., and Migne, *Dict. des apocr.*, ii, 649, 1295.

fragments the name of Sām is spelt *S'hm* = *Sāhm*, as it is often in Pahlavi (*S'hm*¹ beside *S'm*); Ṭabari has *Shm*,² cf. Christensen, *Kayanides*, p. 130. Sāhm's brother is *Pāt-Sāhm*. This name may have been invented by the Sogdian translator in order to keep the names of the brothers resembling each other. Narīmān was evidently not known in Sogdiana as a brother of Sām. According to the *Book of the Giants*, the main preoccupation of Sām-Sāhm was his quarrel with the giant *Māhawai*,³ the son of *Virōgdād*, who was one of the twenty leaders of the Egrēgoroi.

The *Book of the Giants* was published in not less than six or seven languages. From the original Syriac the Greek and Middle Persian versions were made. The Sogdian edition was probably derived from the Middle Persian, the Uyгур from the Sogdian. There is no trace of a Parthian text.⁴ The book may have existed in Coptic. The presence of names such as Sām and Narīmān in the Arabic version proves that it had been translated from the Middle Persian. To the few surviving fragments (texts A–G) I have added two excerpts, the more important of which (H) probably derives from a Syriac epitome of the book. Naturally, Manichæan authors quoted the book frequently, but there is only one direct citation by a non-Manichæan writer (text O). With the exception of text O, all the passages referring to the *Book of the Giants* (texts J–T) go back to Syriac writings (apparently). They are, therefore, to be treated as quotations from the Syriac edition. E.g. the Parthian text N is not the product of a Parthian writer who might have employed a Parthian version of the book, but was translated from a Syriac treatise whose author cited the Syriac text.

In their journey across Central Asia the stories of the *Book of the Giants* were influenced by local traditions. Thus, the translation of Ohya as Sām had in its train the introduction of myths appertaining to that Iranian hero; this explains the "immortality" of Sā(h)m according to text I. The country of *Aryān-Vēžan* = *Airyana Vaejāh*, in text G (26), is a similar innovation.⁵ The "Kōgmān mountains" in text B may reflect the "Mount Hermon". The progeny of the fallen angels was confined in *thirty-six* towns (text S). Owing to the introduction of the Mount Sumeru, this number was changed

¹ For example, *Men.Khr.*, 68, 12; 69, 12, ed. Andreas; *Pahl. Yasna*, 9, 10 (p. 71, 19).

² *Shm*, of course, transcribes *S'hm*, not *S'm*.

³ MPers. *m'hw'y* A 7, with suff. *m'hw'y-c* A 19, Sogd. *m'h'wy* C 15 (= *Wrogdad oylī* in B). Hardly = *Māhōi* (as suggested *ZDMG.*, 90, 4), for the ending *-ōi* was pronounced *-ōi* also in the third century (cf. e.g. *wyrwd* = *Wērōi* in the inscription of Shapur, line 34). Furthermore, there was no *Māhōi* among the heroes of the Iranian epos (M. is well known as the name of the governor of Marv at the time of the last Yazdegerd). More likely *Māhawai* was a non-Iranian name and figured already in the Aramaic edition of the *Kawān*; it may have been adapted to the Persian. Cf. *M'hw'y*^l, Genesis, iv, 18?

⁴ But see *Mir.Man.*, iii, 858 (b 134 sqq.).

⁵ The children of the Egrēgoroi share with the inhabitants of *Airyana Vaejāh* the distinction of being regarded as the inventors (or first users) of the arts and crafts. For the spelling of *Aryān-Vēžan* see also Appendix, text U. It is not clear whether *Yima* (text V) had been given a place in the Sogdian *Kawān*. *Ymyh*, i.e. *Imi*, is the correct Sogdian form of the name.

(in Sogdiana) to *thirty-two* (text G, 22): “the heaven of Indra . . . is situated between the four peaks (cf. G 21) of the Meru, and consists of *thirty-two* cities of devas” (Eitel, *Handb. Chinese Buddhism*, 148, on *Trayastrimśat*).

TEXTS

- (bcd) = damaged letters, or uncertain readings.
 [bcd] = suggested restorations of missing letters.
 . . . = visible, but illegible letters.
 [. . .] = estimated number of missing letters.
 [] = a lacuna of undetermined extent.
 (84)] = same, at the beginning of a line.
 [(85) = same, at the end of a line.¹

In the translation parentheses are employed for explanatory remarks.

FRAGMENTS OF THE KAWĀN

A. *Middle-Persian*

M 101, *a* to *n*, and M 911, fifteen fragments of a book, throughout small pieces from the centre of the pages. It has proved impossible, so far, to re-establish the original order of the pages. On purely technical grounds (size of the fragments, appearance of the margins, relative position of tears, stains, etc.), I at first assumed the following sequence: l-j-k-g-i-c-e-b-h-f-a-d-m-M 911-n. Being unable to estimate the cogency of these technical reasons now, because of the absence of any photographic material, I have decided to change the order of the first six fragments in the following way: c-j-l-k-g-i, in view of their contents.² Unfortunately we do not know in what order Mani had told the story of the giants. The task of finding the original order is made still more difficult by the fact that besides the *Kawān* the book contained one or two more treatises, namely: (1) Parables referring to the Hearers, and possibly (2) a discourse on the Five Elements (here (1) = lines 160 to the end, and (2) = lines 112–159). The only fragments that undoubtedly belonged to the *Kawān* are c-j-l-k-g-i, while the position of the fragments e-b-h is particularly doubtful. It must be borne in mind that whole folios may be missing between apparently successive pages. In order to enable the reader to judge for himself, all the fragments (including the parables) are published here. The text is based on a copy I made nearly ten years ago (referred to in the notes as: Copy); a revision is not possible under the present circumstances.

(*Frg. c, first page*) (1)]h[]md[(2)] 'y '(s)[t]pt tygr '[(3)]ryn qm'n h'n 'y q[]('w)(4) k]yd oo s'm gwpt' pryd byh (5)] 'yn dyd ny mwrđ hy oo ghy (6) šhm]yz'd 'w s'm 'yš (7) pws gw](p)t oo kw hrw cy m'hw'y (8) ?w](n)st oo dwd'yš (9)]gwpt kw d' 'w (10)]d hwm oo 'wd(11)]md (*Frg. c, second page*)

¹ This system of notation has been used also in my book *Sogdica*, and in my paper in *BSOS.*, X, pp. 941 sqq. The various interpunction marks are uniformly represented by oo here.

² But possibly *Frg. i* should occupy the first place; see below, notes on lines 95–111.

(12)]'y (d)[]p.[(13)]rg'n oo 'y [.] 'yb .[(14) ['yst]ynd oo km wrwgd'd pyd '[. . .] (15) bwd oo oo šhmyz'd g[wpt](16) kw r'st gwyd oo yk 'c hz[r'n] (17) gwyd oo cy yk 'c hz'r'n n[. . . .](18) s'm dwdy nwyst .[(19) m'hwyw ws gy[g (20) d' 'w h'n gy(')]g (21) (r)hyy 'wd p[(22) d[

(*Frg. j, first page*) (23)]b[wr]wgd'[d (24)]t oo hwb(')byš 'w 'hr.[(25)]nxtg 'yš zn 'pwrđ oo p(s) (26) nwys]t hynd k'w'n 'gnyn oo 'wzdn 'w (27) ?zn 'pw]rdn oo d'm'nye nwyst hynd (28) 'gn]yn 'wzdn oo s'm pyš hwršyd (29)]st oo yk dst pd pr'whr oo yk(30)](h)rw cy wynd'd 'w b(r)[d?](31)]'y[]'n bst (32)]'w (*Frg. j, second page*) (33)]nyys[]m[(34) ?']br txtg oo 'w prystg'n[(35)]'c 'sm'n oo txtg 'w[(36) txtg 'w 'b 'bgnd oo pd prz(')]m ? (37)xwmn txtg dyd šh nyš'n[oo yk (38) oo yq w'y 'wd wryc oo 'wd yk[(39) wnywdy] oo nrym'n dyd bwy[st'n pwr? (40) [dr]xt'n rdg rdg oo [d]wys[d (41) 'wzyd drxt [(42) h[

(*Frg. l, first page*) (43) ?hwn]wx prys[tg (44)]'w przynd'n pyg'm ookwt'n (45)] 'y ny drwd oo 'šm'h bstn (46)]n oo pd wyn'h 'yt'n kyrd oo pd (47) ?'šm'h] przynd'n w'nyšn wyn(')]d (48) ?p'dy](x)š'y (s)d 'wd wys[t] (49)]. oo[]oo (*Frg. l, second page*) (50)](g)wr ? oo p'c]yn (51)nrmyš oo twštr oo 'hwg oo y'[(52) xrbwz oo dwysd dwysd oo jw(w)[g (53)'b'ryg dd mwrw oo 'wd d'm '[(54) ['(w)š'n my šwh hz'r x(w)[mb (55)]'w]d s'ryšn 'y [.]b oo (s)[(56)'wš'n (rw)]yn

(*Frg. k, first page*) (57)]'d n(r)[](d) oo pydr wyw(d)[(58)](t)'n d' 'w hnz'm 'yš[(59)]br'nd oo pd 'rdyg oo pd b('r)? oo[(60)]'wd pd ('h')ng 'why' u 'hy' (61)]š 'w br'd gwpt oo 'xyz 'wt (62)?'st'n'm oo 'ym'n pydr 'w (63)]'m'h p]rm'd oo pym'n 'y 'm'h kyr(d) (64)]r(z)m('h) oo 'wd k'w'[n] (65)]oo[]('gny)[n] (66)]oo (*Frg. k, second page*) (67)]'y[(šgr) oo 'n'y[]'yš p[d(68)]ny . .]t 'y drwng oo 'n'y qm]'n (69) [h]wstygn oo ny tyzyy 'y t(y)[y ?oo 'n'y](70) zwr 'y twwr oo ny 'lwp 'y[(71) 'n'y pr 'yš 'b'g oo ny z(r)[(72) 'n'y bryng 'yš znyd oo ny š[(73)(g)š oo byc dydym 'yš p(d)[sr ? oo ny](74) srw b'myw oo ['n'y '[(75) 'y k(wp)[(76) (w)[

(*Frg. g, first page*) (77)]'y n[. . . oo n]y ky pd d'ys(t)['n](78)[?'y](s)tyd oo 'n'y ky pd sxwn r's(t)(79)[oo ny ? b']r bzg oo 'n'y zhr 'yš 'ndr oo(80)

(13) Poss. merely 'y 'yb, followed by '[or h[; hardly 'y [pd].

(14) ['b'g] ?

(21) Or (d)hyy.

(24) 'hrm[, or 'hrq[, or 'hrb[, or 'hrn[.

(25) Copy]nxtg without query; prob. incomplete; txtg 34 sqq. presumably different.

(44) Copy rest. [q]'w; improbable.

(50) Copy:](')wr; if correct, = g]'wr.

(52) MS. krbwz.

(55) Copy rest. [']b; doubtful.

(56) Copy (dw)[; cf. my 'wd rwyyn "wine and oil" in Kao. oiii, line 8 (*Innrm. Asia*, ii, 1081).

(57) Rest. wywd[g'n ?

(60) 'h'ng corr. prima manu, now indistinct; meant to be 'hy'ng ("nest") ?

(71) Or z(n)[, or z(d)[; poss. pun on znyd.

(72) š[hry'r 'y] ?

(73) gš: or lš.

[ny . . ?](s)m'n 'ystyhynd^{stc}oo 'n'y yzd (81)[y hrw] šhr'n oo ny bng ghr'yd 'n[y] (82)[xwd']y 'yš pd sr oo ny prystq (83)]oo 'n'y h'n myrd ky pryst[']d(84)]oo ps nrym[n](85) ?g[wpt] '[. .] (*Frg. g, second page*) (86) ['](w)m 'nyc gy(')[g]'n [y (87) dyd ky 'br wnywdy^h oo 'yš[n 'br](88) md gylg'y hynd 'wš'n w'(n)[g 'wd](89) 'bxrws d' 'wl 'w 's[m'n] (90) rsyd oo 'wm 'nyc dyd gy'[g (91) 'stpt'n 'wd p'dxš'y['n (92) ws oo ky pd 'st'r oo u dw(š)[kyrdg'nyh ?](93) [p]hryst hynd k' h[(94)[h]ynd oo'wd[

(*Frg. i, first page*) (95)]'y h[](r)hyd (')(96)] 'wzd oo (c)[h]'rsd hz'r 'rd'w['n] (97) ?k[(wp)'n pd 'dwr npt 'wd gwgyrd (98)]oo 'wd prystg'n 'w hwnwx nhwpt (99)??weydg[c'n'n 'wd nywš'gc'n'n (100)] 'wd 'b'g mrzyst hynd oo weyd (101)]'y hwcyhr oo 'wš'n pd z[ny]h (102)]'wn q[']myst pdngy[n] (*Frg. i, second page*) (103)]h'm'g[] 'pwr[d (104)[k](s) ks 'w k'r 'wd [']sp's [(105) nyr'pt hynd oo oo 'wš('n)[(106) 'c šhryst'n šhryst[n (107) 'wd prystyšn prm'd 'w p[(108) qyrdn oo oo myšn'yg'[n (109) hr'stn oo hwjyg'n rwpt[n (110)[']šyxtn oo p'r[slyg'n[(111)]r'[

(*Frg. e, first page*) (112)](š'w)[(113) ']'wznyšn oo [. . .] 'rd'w[(114)](s)tg oo qyrdg'n oo s[(115) [mhr]'spnd oo 'bysr dydym oo (116)] pymwg oo hpt dyw oo cwn^{stc} 'hwng (117)[ky wxd] (b)ynynd 'wd wxd wyš'hyd oo(118)]s ky 'c twxm 'y (119)]t oo 'wd š'h 'spsyd (120)] 'z'ryd oo k' gylg (121)]pd 'bxš'y[šn] (122)] dšt (*Frg. e, second page*) (123)]pyš[(124)]qrys(t')[. .]kysg wš[(125)[qyrb](kr'n) qxs'n d'hw(')[n] (126) d'd oo bwd ky 'w 'wzdys[n ?](127) ngnd oo jhwd qyrbg 'wd bz[g kyrd](128) oo hynd ky xwyš yzd oo nym (d)[yw] (129) nym yzd qwnynd oo rw.[(130) 'wznyšn oo 'stw[(131)hpt dyw'n 'b[(132)[. .]rg 'br[(133) cš(m)[

(*Frg. b, first page*) (134)]m 'y[(135)[gwn]g gwng (rn)g [. .]cyd oo ky pd[(136)]b 'wd wyš oo 'gr k[(137)](w)'n 'c pnz mhr'spnd oo (138)]oo c]'wn c'r kw ny myry^h oo xw'r(139)['wd] b'r pwr kwnynd oo 'wš'n (140)[. . .]r pymweyd oo 'yn ns'^h (141)]g oo 'wd ny hwstyg'n oo (142) 'w]š bwn ny hwstyg'n (143)]'zyhyd oo c]'wn] (144)]g 'st (*Frg. b, second page*) (145)].yn wd[(146) [ns']^h bst oo [pd] 'stg p[y](147)[pyt r](g) oo 'wd erm oo xwd 'n[dr](148) 'wyrd oo '(y)g dr'yd oo 'br y(z)[d](149) r'stygr oo hwrxšyd 'wd m'[h] (150) dw ty 'w dst d'd oo 'br mhr['spnd](151) drxt'n 'wd d'm'n oo 'y(g) [zrw'n ?] (152) by oo pd ''w'm ''[w'm](153) prystyd oo šyt[yl zrdrwšt] (154) [b]wt oo mšy[h' (155) prys[t](g)[n

(*Frg. h, first page*) (156)]wdyšn's(157)]oo kw 'c kw[(158)].n md oowpytg'n pnz mhr'spnd (159)]drxt oo pnz d'm ny d'nynd oo oo (*One line left blank*) (160) (*In red ink*)]nywš'g'n r'y oo (161)].(y)rym 'c m'ny xwd'y (162)]pnz 'ndrz 'w (163) 'w](d) sh m(w)[hr] (*Frg. h, second page*) (164)](zyndg)[(165)

(95) Prob. [p]rhyd.

(110) Or [w]š-, or [n]š-;[']š- in view of Pahl. 'šnc-.

(114) Or](p)tg.

(140) Hardly [tmw'r].

(151) Space insuff. for ['whrmzyd], or [zyn'rys].

(161) E.g. [pd]yrym.

['](s)tw'nyy d(')[(166) '](w)d whyy oo nm[(167) m'h oo hspyn 'c zwr '[(168) xwyš oo 'wd wmyg pdm'd d'(r)[(169) drxt 'wd x'nyg oo pd dw py[(170) 'b oo 'wd b'r oo šyyr[(171) oo br'd ny ''z'r'(d) [oo ?nywš'g](172) 'y zyr oo ky c'[wn (173) 'y 'bwr[s

(*Frg. f, first page*) (174)[ny[(175)]wst[(176) w]s swd oo (c)'wn wrzyg[r] (177)[? ky tw](x)m q'ryd oo pd wsy[. . .](178)]d oo nywš'g ky d'nyyšn(179)]rynd oo c'wn myrd ky prwšg (180)](y)yr 'bgnd oo hwstyg'n bwd(181)]g ny oo bhr 'y wnywdyy (182)] (n)xwst gr'n oo c'wn(183)](t)[.]st'n oo nxwst (184) 'w pd]yxšr rs[yd](185)]t'byy (*Frg. f, second page*) (186)]yp[(187)]wys[p(188)] šwh (r)w(c) oo nywš'g [ky](189)[rw'n]g'n dyyd oo c'wn 'š[kwh] (190) myrd ky dwxt 'w š'h hn(d)[ym'n](191) qwnyd oo 'w wzrg pdyxšr r(s)[yd](192)oo rw'ng'n pd tnw'r 'y r[d'w] (193)oo ''wn p'k bwyd oo c'[wn (194) ky pd 'dwr 'wd w'd oo[(195)]mg 'y hwe[yhr 'yg?](196) [p]d tn 'y yw[jdhr (197) wrdy[

(*Frg. a, first page*) (198)g]wg'yy[(199)]('w b('r[(200)d]rxt oo [.]w[. . .]g'n p[(201)]yn wyrdyd^{stc}oo[(202)p]dys'[y(203)]kyy oo c'wn[(204)] 'ymg '[(205) k.]šynd oo c'[wn d]'nq '[. . .](206) 'spyzyšn oo 'wd nywš'g '(nd)r (207)]oo rw'ng'n pd dyn oo cwn^{stc}mkwg(208)]'ndr ? dry']b oo zyyg pd dst 'y (209)]'hynz'g ? 'y ']br dmb oo m'l'h (210) d]ry'b šhr mkwg (211)]g'n oo 'hynz['](g) (212)]zyy[(g)[oo] whyh (*Frg. a, second page*) (213)]oo m'n'g[(214)]oo (ny)[w]š'g[(215)c]'wn 'st']h ? 'y[(216)]'byb[r '(217) 'b]yb'r k[(218)]'n u nywš'g'n (219)](d) oo b'r ky[(220)(qy)rdg'n oo [. . .] m'n'g w[(221)oo nywš'g oo 'wd whmn oo c'[wn](222) šh br'd oo ky 'c pydr[(223) tys m'nd oo zmyg oo[(224) twxm oo 'mb'z b[wd(225) dwrynd 'wd [. .]wyn[(226)[n]ywš'g t[(227) c'[wn

(*Frg. d, first page*) (228)]'(dn)g[(229)?phy](k)r 'y š'h oo pd zr ry(x)[t] (230) š(')h d'syn d'd oo m'[n'g](231)[nywš']g ky nbyg nby(sy)[d](232) [c'w](n) myrd 'y wym'r oo ky zy[(233) m]yrd d'd oo nywš'g k[y](234) [xwybš] dwxt 'w dyn dyyd oo m'ng^{stc}(235)](g)rwg'n ky pws '(w)(236)](h)mwxtn d'd oo 'w(237)](p)yd grwg'n (238)]. 'w (*Frg. d, second page*) (239)]dwn(d)[(240)[ny]wš'g oo dwdy m'n'g nyw[š'g (241)]'myc 'škrw[(242) [p]'c[y]hyd oo gryw 'c dyn w[(243)[c](')wn zn 'y hrwm'y oo k(y)[(244) [?py]'dg 'yw mwg k[(245) qybyc pd dyn'(r)[(246)bwd oo w'd qnd yk [(247) ''hyd bwd oo pr[(248) 'c bwn[(249) bw[d

(*Frg. m, first page*) (250)]pryst'd h[(251) m'n']g nywš'g oo ky y(k)[(252)](s)'g kwnd oo c'wn (m)[d?](253)[?rwdw]r oo ky hpt pws pdy[rypt (254)]oo dwšmyn hrw '(w)[zd(255) nyw]š'g ky '(b)[(256) qyr]bggy 'š[(257)] ky[

(168) Copy *wmyg*, or possibly *zmyg* ?

(173) Better than 'bwr[s'm], see note on translation ; cf. Syr. 'bhl, *Sogdica*, 41, and 'bwrs[, *ibid.*, 44. [Cf. also Jewish Persian 'brs, Horn, *ZATW.*, 1897, 201.]

(180) Poss. [pd(or : 'ndr) š]yyr, cf. 170 [and conjecturally W.-L., ii, 559, ii, 21, where *šhr* is out of place : "spiritual milk"].

(201) = *wydryd* ?

(220) Probably : [']wn] m'n'g w[cydg].

(232) = zy[n ? zy[wr ?

(234) m'ng for lack of space = m'n'g.

(244) Not 'ywmwg as one word.

(*Frg. m, second page*) (258)p[d c'h yk (p)[(259)]dry'b oo yk pd n'[w (260)[?h'n 'y pd] dmb 'w 'wy ky p[d (261)[? n'w 'hy]nzyd oo h'n 'y pd n'w[(262)]dry'b oo 'wl '[w (263) c']wn 'rd'n (')[(264) c'w]n mwrw'ry(d)[(265)]dydy[m

(*Frg. M 911, first page*) (266)]dyn oo c'wn myrd ky(267)](b)'r 'wd 'sprhm (268)]ps 'pwryn(d) (269) b]'rwr drxt[(270)]. oo zr[(*Frg. M 911, second page*) (271) (ky) zmyg xryd oo zmyg[(272) x'nyg oo pwr drhm [(273)ooš'h wdymwš(t)[(274)]h'mbh(r)[(275) g](rwg'n)[

(*Frg. n, first page*) (276)]g'n oo 'w (277)]'n 'y ws (278)]t nywš'q oo pd (279)]r oo c'wn pymw(cn) (280)]oo m'n'g w[(*Frg. n, second page*) (281) ('w) xwd'[y (282) m'n'g [(283) 'wd 'h(wngr) oo[(284) zrygr 'w pdyxš(r)[(285) (')[(h)wngr 'w '(b)[(286)]n oo yk 'w (w)[

(258/9) Prob. rest. *yk p[d dmb 'y] dry'b.*

(263) 'rd'n: thus Copy; [c']wn, or [']wn.

(271) Or *kdyd*.

Translation

(*Frg. c*) . . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . Sām said: “Blessed be . . . had [he ?] seen this, he would not have died.” Then Shahmizād said to Sām, his [son]: “All that Māhawai . . ., is spoilt (?).” Thereupon he said to . . . “We are . . . until (10) . . . and . . . (13) . . . that are in (?) the fiery hell (?) . . . As my father, Virōgdād, was . . .” Shahmizād said: “It is true what he says. He says one of thousands.¹ For one of thousands . . .”. Sām thereupon began . . . Māhawai, too, in many places . . . (20) until to that place . . . he might escape (?) and . . .²

(*Frg. j*) . . . Virōgdād . . . Hōbābīš³ robbed Ahr . . .⁴ of -naxtag,⁵ his wife. Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and [to abduct their wives]. The creatures, too, began to kill each other.⁶ Sām . . . before the sun, one hand in the air, the other . . . (30) . . . whatever he obtained, to his brother . . . imprisoned . . . (34) . . . over Taxtag.⁷ To the angels . . . from heaven. Taxtag to . . . Taxtag threw (*or*: was thrown) into the water. Finally (?) . . . in his sleep Taxtag saw three signs, [one portending . . .], one woe and flight, and one . . . annihilation. Narīmān saw a gar[den full of] (40) trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees. . . .⁸

¹ = far less than he could say. Cf. *az hazār yak*, *ŠGV.*, xiv, 2, *az hazār q baewarq yak*, *ibid.*, xvi, 1. Salemann, *Zap. Imp. Ak. Nauk, sér. viii, t. vi, No. 6, 25*, quoted Persian *az hazār yakī va az bisyār andakī*.

² The texts *B* and *C* (Uyghur and Sogdian) could be inserted here (or hereabouts).

³ Probably one of the twenty “decarchs” (*Enoch* 6, 7), viz. No. 4 *Kokabiel* = *Χωχαμῆλ* in the Greek fragments, and *Χωβαβήλ* apud Syncellus.

⁴ This also could be a “decarch”, *Arakib*-*Ἀρακινήλ*, or *Aramiel*-*Ἀραμῆλ*.

⁵ Incomplete name.

⁶ Cf. *Enoch* 7, 5.

⁷ *taxtq* might be appellative, = “a board”. This would fit in three of the passages, but hardly in the fourth.

⁸ Evidently this is the dream that Enoch reads in the fragment *M 625c* (= Text *D*, below), which therefore probably belonged to the *Kawān*. It should be inserted here.

(*Frg. l*) . . . Enoch,¹ the apostle, . . . [gave] a message to [the demons and their] children: To you . . . not peace.² [The judgment on you is] that you shall be bound for the sins you have committed.³ You shall see the destruction of your children.⁴ . . . ruling for a hundred and twenty⁵ [years] . . . (50) . . . wild ass, ibex . . . ram, goat (?),⁶ gazelle, . . . oryx, of each two hundred, a pair⁷ . . . the other wild beasts, birds, and animals . . . and their wine [shall be] six thousand jugs . . . irritation(?)⁸ of water(?) . . . and their oil [shall be]⁹ . . .

(*Frg. k*) . . . father . . . nuptials (?) . . . until the completion of his . . . in fighting . . . (60) . . . and in the nest(?) Ohya and Ahya . . . he said to his brother: "get up and . . . we will take what our father has ordered us to. The pledge we have given . . . battle." And the giants . . . together . . . (67) "[Not the] . . . of the lion, but the . . . on his . . . [Not the] . . . of the rainbow, but the bow . . . firm. Not the sharpness of the blade, [but] (70) the strength of the ox (?).¹⁰ Not the . . . eagle, but his wings.¹¹ Not the . . . gold, but the brass that hammers¹² it. Not the proud [ruler], but the diadem on his [head. Not] the splendid cypress, but the . . . of the mountain . . .

(*Frg. g*) . . . Not he that engages in quarrels, but he that is true in his speech. Not the evil fruit(?), but the poison in it. (80) [Not they that] are placed (?)¹³ in the skies, but the God [of all] worlds. Not the servant is proud,

¹ Here (or hereabouts) the texts E and F should be entered, both of which deal with the judgment on the fallen angels. Text F approximates to *Enoch*, ch. 10 (pronouncement of the judgment by God), while Text E is nearer to *Enoch*, ch. 13 (communication of the judgment to the angels by Enoch).

² = *Enoch*, 12, 4-5: εἰπὲ τοῖς ἐγγρηγόροις . . . οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν εἰρήνη.

³ = *Enoch*, 13, 1-2: ὁ δὲ Ἐνὼχ . . . εἶπεν . . . οὐκ ἔσται σοι εἰρήνη· κρίμα μέγα ἐξήλθεν κατὰ σοῦ δὴσά σοι . . . περὶ . . . τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κατὰ.

⁴ = *Enoch*, 14, 6: ἴδτε τὴν ἀπόλειαν τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν.

⁵ = Syncellus, pp. 44-5 Fl.-R. (*ad cap.* xvi), cf. *Genesis*, vi, 3. ἀπολοῦνται οἱ ἀγαπητοὶ ὑμῶν . . . ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐ μὴ ἔσονται πλείω τῶν ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν.

⁶ In Jewish Persian *trwš* is "ram" (Lagarde, *Pers. Stud.*, 73), but in the dialect of Rīšahr nr. Bushire (according to the notes made on this dialect by Andreas about seventy years ago) *tīštār* is "a young she-goat". See *JRAS.*, 1942, 248. [*trwš*, Is. 1¹¹, Ier. 51⁴⁰ = Hebr. 'attūd, probably understood as "he-goat".]

⁷ These lines evidently refer to the promise of peace and plenty that concludes the divine judgment in *Enoch*, 10. Hence = "each pair of those animals shall have two hundred young"?

⁸ *sārišn*: cf. *DkM.* 487*apu.*-488, 3, "when they provoke (*sārēn*-) him, he does not get irritated (*sār*- and better, *sārih*-)." *GrBd.* 5, 8, "if you do not provoke, or instigate (*sārēn*-) a fight" (differently Nyberg, ii, 202). *sār*-, if from *sarəd*- (Skt. *śardh*-), is presumably the transitive to *syrydn* (from *srdhya*- according to Bartholomæ), cf. *NGGW.*, 1932, 215, n. 3.

⁹ Cf. *Enoch*, 10, 19: ἡ ἀμπελος [sic] ἦν ἂν φυτεύσωσιν ποιήσουσιν πρόχους οἴνου χυλιάδας . . . ἐλαίας . . .

¹⁰ *ty* or *ty[y]* = *tai* from *taih* from *taiy* (cf. *GGA.*, 1935, 18), is ambiguous: (1) sharp instrument, (2) burning, glow, brightness, sunrays, etc. So also is *tyzyy*: (1) sharpness, (2) speed. One could also restore *ty[gr]*.

¹¹ Lit. "but the wing(s) that (is, are) with him". The curious expression was chosen probably on account of the rhythm. For the same reason *byc* is employed in the place of 'n'y in line 73.

¹² Lit. "beats".

¹³ *'ystyh*- is obviously different from *'styh*- (on which see *BSOS.*, IX, 81), and possibly derived from *'yst*-, cf. *'y'h*- "to be born" from *'z'y*- "to be born". *'ystyh*- is met with in *W.-L.*, ii, 558,

but [the lord] that is above him. Not one that is sent . . . , but the man that sent him ”.¹ Thereupon Narimān . . . said . . . (86) . . . And (in) another place I saw those that were weeping for the ruin that had befallen them, and whose cries and laments rose up to heaven. (90) And also I saw another place [where there were] tyrants and rulers . . . in great number, who had lived ² in sin and evil deeds, when ³ . . .

(*Frg. i*) ⁴ . . . many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous ⁵ . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone ⁶ . . . And the angels veiled ⁷ (*or* : covered, *or* : protected, *or* : moved out of sight) Enoch. *Electae et auditrices* (100) . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful [women], and demanded . . . them in marriage.⁸ Sordid . . . (103) . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city . . . and were ordered to serve the . . . The Mesenians [were directed] to prepare, the Khūzians ⁹ to sweep [and] (110) water, the Persians to . . .

[On the Five Elements]

(*Frg. e*) (112) . . . slaying . . . righteous . . . good deeds . . . elements. The crown, the diadem, [the garland, and] the garment (of Light). The seven demons. Like a blacksmith [who] binds (*or* : shuts, fastens) and looses (*or* : opens, detaches) . . . who from the seeds of . . . and serves the king . . . (120) . . . offends . . . when weeping . . . with mercy . . . hand . . . (125)

R i 25, “blessed chief who stands (*’ystyhyd* ?) as the sign of the Light Gods.” Lentz has *’ystyhyd*, but without having seen the manuscript one may presume a misreading (cf. *ibid.*, R i 1, Lentz : *pd*[. . .]*dq*, but probably *pr*[’*d*]*ng*, R i 2, Lentz : *p.d’r*, but probably *pyr’r*, *ibid.*, R ii 22, Lentz : *’n.z*, but probably *’wn*; for further cases see *OLZ.*, 1934, 10).

¹ St. John, 13, 16.

² *phrystn* : *phryz* = Parth. *prx’štn* : *prxyz* (cf. Av. *pārihaēza*-, Sogd. *pr-yyž*; Parth. *’x’št* : MPers. *’xyst*) is mostly “to stand around, to be about, *versari*”, sometimes “to stand around for the purpose of looking after someone” = “serve, nurse, protect”, often merely “to be”. *phryz* - “to stand off, to abstain” is presumably different (*para-haēza*-).

³ The series of visions in which Enoch sees the arrangements for the punishment of the fallen angels, etc., and of “the kings and the Mighty” (chaps. xvii sqq.), follows immediately upon the announcement of the divine judgment. Hence, *frgg. k-g* must be placed after *frg. 1*. Text G (below), which describes the execution of the divine order, could perhaps be inserted here.

⁴ It is difficult to decide whether this fragment should be placed at the end or at the beginning of the book. The 400,000 Righteous may have perished when the Egrēgoroi descended to the earth. The “choosing of beautiful women”, etc., strongly suggests the misbehaviour of the Egrēgoroi on their arrival upon the earth. The hard labour imposed on the Mesenians and other nations may be due to the insatiable needs of their giant progeny (*Enoch*, 7, 2 sqq.). On the other hand, “fire, naphtha, and brimstone” are only mentioned as the weapons with which the archangels overcame the Egrēgoroi, after a prolonged and heavy fight (Text G, 38), and the 400,000 Righteous may well have been the innocent non-combatant victims of this battle which may have had a demoralizing effect even upon the *electae*. To clear up the debris the archangels would naturally commandeer the men. We do not know whether Mani believed Enoch to have been moved out of sight (ἐλῆμφθη *Enoch*, 12, 1) before the Egrēgoroi appeared, or before they were punished.

⁵ See texts R, and Q (where 4,000 instead of 400,000).

⁶ See *BSOS.*, X, 398.

⁷ See text T, line 3.

⁸ Cf. *Enoch*, 7, 1 ?

⁹ On *myšn’yg’n* see *BSOS.*, X, 945, n. 2, on *hwjyg*, *ibid.*, 944, n. 7.

... the Pious gave ...? ... presents. Some buried the idols. The Jews did good and evil. Some make their god half demon, half god ... (130) killing ... the seven demons ... eye ...

(*Frg. b*) ... various colours that by and bile. If from the five elements. As if (it were) a means not to die, they fill themselves with food and drink. Their (140) garment is ... this corpse ... and not firm ... its ground is not firm ... Like ... (146) ... imprisoned [in this corpse], in bones, nerves,¹ [flesh], veins, and skin, and entered herself [= *Āz*] into it. Then he (= Man) cries out, over ² (?) sun and moon, the Just God's (150) two flames ³ ...? ...,⁴ over the elements, the trees and the animals. But God [*Zrwān*?], in each epoch,⁵ sends apostles: Šit[il, Zarathustra,] Buddha, Christ, ...

(*Frg. h*) ... evil-intentioned ... from where ... he came. The Misguided fail to recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals.

(160) ... On the Hearers

... we receive ... from Mani, the Lord, ... the Five Commandments to ... the Three Seals ... (164) ... living ... profession ... and wisdom ... moon. Rest from the power (*or*: deceit) ... own. And keep measured the mixture (?) ... trees and wells, in two ... (170) water, and fruit, milk, ... he should not offend his brother. The wise [Hearer] who like unto juniper [leaves ⁶ ...

(*Frg. f*) ... much profit. Like a farmer ... who sows seed ... in many ⁷ ... The Hearer who ... knowledge, is like unto a man that threw (the dish called) ⁸ *frōšag* (180) [into] milk(?). It became hard, not ... The part that ruin ... at first heavy. Like ... first ... is honoured ... might shine ... (188) six days. The Hearer who gives alms (to the Elect), is like unto a poor (190) man that presents his daughter to the king; he reaches (a position of) great

¹ *py(y)* always = nerves, sinews (not "fat" as in *Mir.Man.*, i, etc., as alternative rendering). It is equivalent to *nerfs* (Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 32/3 [528/9]), Uygur *singir* (*T.M.*, iii, 18/9), Copt. = *Sehne* (*Keph.*, 96, etc.), Sogd. *pδδw'* (unpubl.). Cf. also *GrBd.*, 196, 4, where Goetze, *ZII.*, ii, 70, wrongly has "fat". MPers. *pai* = NPers. *pai* = Pashto *pala* = Sogd. *pδδw'* (not Av. *piθwā-*).

² Hardly "to". Cf. Cumont, *Rech.*, i, 49, and my paper *NGGW.*, 1932, 224.

³ Or: over the Just God, sun and moon, the (*or*: his) two flames. The "Just God" is the Third Messenger (not = *bgr'štygr*, i.e. *Zrwān*).

⁴ Unintelligible. Lit. "... two flames given into the (*or*: his) hand".

⁵ Cf. *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 27, and *BSOS.*, VIII, 585.

⁶ Cf. *M* 171, 32 sqq. 'wt' *st ngwš'g ky 'w 'b[w](r)[s] m'nh'g ky hmyw zrgwng 'štyd 'wš zmg 'wd t'b'n pny ny rzyynd. 'w'gwn hwyc hwrw'n ngwš'g pd pzd 'wd wšyd'x pd xw'r 'wt dyjw'r, kd dwr 'c wjydg'n 'wt kd nzd 'w wjydg'n, hw pd wxybyy frhyft 'wd w'wryft 'škybyd, etc.* "And some Hearers are like unto the juniper which is ever green, and whose leaves are shed neither in summer nor in winter. So also the pious Hearer, in times of persecution and of free exercise (lit. open-mindedness), in good and bad days, under the eyes of the Elect or out of their sight, — he is constant in his charity and faith." Although the word *'burs* is incomplete in both passages, its restoration is practically a certainty.

⁷ Possibly the parable of St. Mark, iv, 3 sqq.

⁸ Cf. *BSOS.*, IX, 86.

honour.¹ In the body of the Elect the (food given to him as) alms is purified in the same manner as a ... that by fire and wind ... beautiful clothes on a clean body ... turn ...

(*Frg. a*) ... witness ... fruit ... (200) ... tree ... like ... firewood ... like a grain (?) ... radiance. The Hearer in [the world ?], (and) the alms within the Church, are like unto a ship [on the sea]²: the towing-line³ (is) in the hand of [the tower] on shore, the sailor (210) is [on board the ship]. The sea is the world, the ship is [the ..., the ... is the ?al]ms, the tower is [the ... ?], the towing-line (?) is the Wisdom. ... (214) ... The Hearer ... is like unto the branch (?) of a fruitless [tree] ... fruitless ... and the Hearers ... fruit that ... (220) pious deeds. [The Elect,] the Hearer, and Vahman, are like unto three brothers to whom some [possessions] were left by their father: a piece of land, ..., seed. They became partners ... they reap and ... The Hearer ... like ...

(*Frg. d*) ... an image (?) of the king, cast of gold ... (230) ... the king gave presents. The Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man that gave his ...⁴ to a ... man. The Hearer that gives [his] daughter to the church,⁵ is like ... pledge, who (= father ?) gave his son to ... learn ... to ... father, pledge ... (240) ... Hearer. Again, the Hearer ... is like ... stumble ... is purified. To ... the soul from the Church, is like unto the wife of the soldier (or: Roman) who ... infantrist, one shoe ... who, however, with a denarius ... was. The wind tore out one ... he was abashed⁶ ... from the ground ... ground ...

(*Frg. m*) ... (250) ... sent ... The Hearer that makes one ..., is like unto [a compassionate mother] who had seven sons ... the enemy [killed] all ... The Hearer that ... piety ... (258) ... a well. One [on the shore of]

¹ An elaborate version of this parable is found in M 221 R 9-23: *u nywš'g ky h'n rw'ng'n 'w wjydyd'g'n 'wryyd, 'wn m'n'g c'wn 'škwš myrd [ky] dwxt 'y nyq z'd hy, 'wd pd wryhryy 'wd 'gr'ygh 'byr hwcyghr hy. 'wd h'n myrd 'y 'škwš 'w hwcyghryy 'y 'wy qnyygc xwyš dwxt prg'myyh cy 'byr h[wcyr] [h]y. 'wd 'wy dwxt 'y hwcyghr [] . 'wš 'w š'h hndym'n [qwnygh] 'wd š'h 'wy qnygc p[šndy]h ?' 'wd pd znyy nš'yy. 'wš [] pws 'cyys z'ynd[] pwsryn 'yš 'c 'w[y myrd 'y 'š]kwš dwxt z[d (remainder missing), "The Hearer that brings alms to the Elect, is like unto a poor man to whom a pretty daughter has been born, who is very beautiful with charin and loveliness. That poor man fosters the beauty of that girl, his daughter, for she is very beautiful. And that beautiful daughter ..., he presents her to the king. The king approves of her, and puts her into his harem. He has [several] sons by her. ... The sons that were born to that poor man's daughter ...". Throughout the story the *parabolic optative* is in use.*

² For a similar parable see below, lines 258 sqq.

³ *zyyg*: this word, hitherto unexplained, occurs in the *Šābuhragān* (M 470 V 14, spelt *z'ygg*). The sinners, roasting in hell, see the Righteous enjoying the New Paradise, and ask them: ... 'wm'n ... *z'yg* 'w *dst dyg*[d 'wd 'j]c 'yn *swcyšn bwzy*[d] " ... put a rope (or: life-line) in our hands and rescue us from this conflagration". Cf. Pahl., Pers. *zīg*, Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, 68.

⁴ Possibly "weapons".

⁵ Cf. *Kephalaia*, 192/3.

⁶ Cf. *āhīd-gar-ān* below, F 43/4. For a discussion of *āhīd* see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, 315 sq. Perhaps one can understand Av. *āhiti-* as "something that causes shame", hence "stain", etc. In that case *Anāhītā* could be compared to *Apsaras*. As regards NPers. *χīre*, mentioned by Zaehner, this may be connected with Sogd. *γyr'k* "foolish". The word in *DkM.*, 205⁸, is not necessarily *hyrg-gwn* (thus Zaehner, *ibid.*, 312). It might be *hyl-* = Pashto *xər* "ashen, grey, etc."

the sea, one in the boat. (260) [He that is on] shore, tows(?) him that is [in the boat].¹ He that is in the boat . . . sea. Upwards to . . . like . . . ? . . . like a pearl . . . diadem . . .

(*Frg. M* 911) . . . Church. Like unto a man that . . . fruit and flowers . . . then they praise . . . fruitful tree . . . (270) . . . [Like unto a man] that bought a piece of land. [On that] piece of land [there was] a well, [and in that well a bag] full of drachmas . . . the king was filled with wonder . . . share . . . pledge . . .

(*Frg. n*) . . . numerous . . . Hearer. At . . . like unto a garment . . . (280) like . . . to the master . . . like . . . and a blacksmith. The goldsmith . . . to honour, the blacksmith to . . . one to . . .

B. *Uyğur*

LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 23. Bang, *Muséon*, xliv, 13–17. Order of pages according to LeCoq (the phot. publ. by Bang seems to support LeCoq's opinion).

(*First page*) . . . fire was going to come out. And [I saw] that the sun was at the point of rising, and that [his ?] centre (*orđu*) without increasing (? *ašilmātīn* ?) above was going to start rolling. Then came a voice from the air above. Calling me, it spoke thus : “ Oh son of Virōgdād, your affairs are lamentable (?). More than this you shall [not] see. Do not die now prematurely, but turn quickly back from here.” And again, besides this (voice), I heard the voice of Enoch, the apostle, from the south, without, however, seeing him at all. Speaking my name very lovingly, he called. And downwards from . . . then

(*Second page*) . . . “ . . . for the closed ² door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die,” said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back : Dawn had . . . , with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kōgmān mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said : “ I call you, son of Virōgdād, . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . . also . . .

C. *Sogdian*

M 648. Small scrap from the centre of a page. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) (1) [.] t oo (2) w(yn)y t w oo (3) 'rty nwkr wyδp' t xw s['hm qwy y šyr ?] (4) yp' qβryy wβ' 'rty m['h'wy qwy y ?] (5) δst(w) βr' w' n w 'ty ' [zw (6) ['tf] y ptxw' yn oo 'rt [(7)] n 'ny t q[wyšt ? (8)] y y ' [(9)] ny [

(*Second page*) (10)]' z 'ty [(11) n] ' pcqwyr p' r(wty) (12) s['hm qwy y t' f'

¹ Cf. *supra*, lines 206–212.

² On *boyuq* see Bang, loc. cit., p. 15, who has : “ the door of the closed (locked) sun.” Acc. to *Enoch*, chaps. 72 sqq., there are 180 doors in the east one of which is opened each morning for the sun to pass through (the idea, familiar also from Pahlavi books, is of Babylonian origin).

q'm't (13)]'rtšw 'zw ny w'c'mk'm (14)](')zw xwtyy prδβn kwn'm(k'm) (15) pts'r xw m'h'wy q[wyy] (16)]w xwsnd wβ[' (17)](nd) kw[(18)]kr[

(*First page*) ... I shall see. Thereupon now S[āhm, the giant] was [very] angry, and laid hands on M[āhawai, the giant], with the intention: I shall ... and kill [you]. Then ... the other g[iants] ...

(*Second page*) ... do not be afraid, for ... [Sā]hm, the giant, will want to [kill] you, but I shall not let him ... I myself shall damage ... Thereupon Māhawai, the g[iant], ... was satisfied ...

D. Middle-Persian

Published *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, p. 29.

... outside ... and ... left read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus and the trees that came out, those are the Egrēgoroi ('yr), and the giants that came out of the women. And over ... pulled out ... over ...

E. Sogdian

T iii 282. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) (1) fry]štyy wyn'nd oo [(2)] fryštyy ptyc[yh (3)]wyšn cytyt kyy [(4)]t' wm't'nd oo 'rty [p]rw (5) fryštyy wyn'mndyy šyrš'yr (6) wγšndyt 'kt'nd oo ['r]ty sytm'[n] (7) wy' rtyy 'nwšt'nd oo ['r]t[y] (m)s (8) en [wy]šndyy kyy 'ty zwstm[byyt] (9) [']ty [']spynd wm't'nd oo jγw [δrβnd] (10) [']ty pcyq(w)[yr'nd oo 'rtpt[s'r]

(*Second page*) (*traces of three lines*) (14) kww [...]fwnyy s'r nyy p[....] oo (15) 'rtpts'r wyšn z'wrqyn(d) (16) (c)tytyt kww šyr'ktyy fryštyh (17) s'r w'nw ptyškwy'nd oo kdwty (18) [...]γ'tym en m'x ''δyy γ[w]'n nyy (19) ['kt' t?] oo 'rty βγ ckn'c [py]δ[r] (20) [....]'sδ.[....]'rty γr'n frm[n]

(*First page*) ... [when] they saw the apostle, ... before the apostle ... those demons that were [timid], were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him. Also, of those that were tyrants and criminals, they were [worried] and much afraid.¹ Then ...

(*Second page*) ... not to ... Thereupon those powerful demons spoke thus to the pious apostle²: If by us any (further) sin [will] not [be committed?], my lord, why? you have ... and weighty injunction³ ...

F. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 164. Six fragmentary columns, from the middle of a page. Order of columns uncertain. Instead of A///B///CDEF, it might have been: BCDEFA, or even CDEF///A///B.⁴

(*Col. A*) (1) '](š)qwh[y]h? (2) prwxyy 'y 'rd'w[n] (3) mwrzyd oo 'yd r'y

¹ Cf. *Enoch*, 13, 9, ἡλθον πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ πάντες συνηγμένοι ἐκάθηντο πενθοῦντες κτλ.

² Cf. *Enoch*, 13, 4-6.

³ i.e. the divine order for their punishment (*Enoch*, 10).

⁴ [Other fragments of the same manuscript ("T i"), not however belonging to the *Kawān*, show that there were three columns to a page; hence, the correct order of the columns is: BCDEFA. Perhaps this text, too, is not a fragment of the *Kawān*.]

'[w] (4) h'n wnywdyyh 'wd (5) 'xš'dyy 'y j'yd'[n] (6) 'wd 'w h'n 'dwr (7) m'd 'y wysp'[n] (8) swcyšn'n oo 'wd (9) bwnyšt 'y wysp'n (10) wnywd'n 'stpt'[n] (11) qp'nd 'wd k' 'wys'[n] (12) drwynd'n wnywdyh (13) ghwdg'n 'ndr 'wys'n (14) bryng'n 'wd

(Col. B) (traces of three lines) (18) why ny bwd hyd (19) 'wt'n pd wyptgyh (20) 'wh (p)rm'd kw pd (21) h'n drwzn p'dxs'yy (22) j'yd'n hyd 'šm'h (23) ('yn) [h]rwysp nyjd'd (24)] 'wy

(Col. C) (25) ky pd w'ng 'y drwnyy (26) 'w 'm' 'bxrwsyd (27) 'wd nyc 'wh pdys'y (28) 'šm' 'šq'rg bwd (29) hwm kwm'n wyn'd (30) 'wd nyc 'wh xwys (31) gryw pd 'st'yšn (32) 'wd wzrgyh 'ym'n (33) [. . .]d'd 'w 'šm' (34)]'n'y (35)]md

(Col. D) (36) drwynd'n '.[.] (37) (py)d'g 'ystyd kwt'n (38) gryw 'c 'yd 'dwr (39) 'w wnywd 'yg j'yd'n (40) pdr'st oo oo 'wd (41) 'šm'h drwnd'n (42) ghwdg'n 'yg gryw (43) xšmyn 'wd 'hyd (44) gr'n 'yg gwyšn'n (45) w'br'n 'yg 'wy (46) ywjdr 'wd whwr'g'n (47) 'yg qyrdg'n 'yg (48) xw'styy 'bd'g'n (49) ('yg) 'br qyrbyh (50) [. . .](r)'g'n 'yg (51)]c zyng (52)](ky) xwybš (53)].gyy wn[. .]

(Col. E) (54)]'nd oo ('wd) pd (55) pr'n 'spyx(t)'[n] (56) bydyndr^{stc} ('c) [h]'(n) (57) 'dwr 'w[d 'b]r[d]r (58) 'cyš pr(w)z(')[nd 'wd] (59) w'y'nd oo 'w(š) ? (p)d (60) zwpy 'wd pd (61) b'ryst nyyš'(nd) (62) 'wd xwd 'wys'(n) (63) 'rd'w'n kyš 'c (64) byrwn 'wd 'c 'br (65) p(yr)['mwn 'y]st'nd (66) 'wyn x(w)[d] 'br h'n (67) 'dwr wzrg 'wd 'br (68) wysp cyš 'ndr (69) p'dyxš'y bw'nd (70)[']yb . 'zd[(71) 'wd gy'n'[n (72) 'yš p[(73)//// (74)////

(Col. F) (75) 'dwr wzrg 'yg (76) wnywdyy ky šhr'[n] (77) swcynyd p'kdr 'wd (78) 'bz'rdr hynd (79) 'wš xwd 'c byrwn (80) 'wd 'c 'br pyr'mwn (81) 'yst'nd oo 'wš'n (82) 'spyzyšn 'br (83) br'z'd 'wš byndr (84) 'cyš 'wd 'brdr (85) 'cyš w'y'nd pdys'y (86) gy'n'n ky 'c h'n (87) 'dwr 'bdxtn k'm'nd (88) 'wd h'n [(89) p[

(Col. A) . . . poverty . . . [those who] harassed¹ the happiness of the Righteous, on that account they shall fall into eternal ruin and distress, into that Fire, the mother of all conflagrations and the foundation of all ruined tyrants. And when these sinful misbegotten sons² of ruin in those crevices and . . .

(Col. B) . . . you have not been better. In error you thought you would enjoy this false power eternally.³ You . . . all this iniquity . . .

(Col. C) . . . you that call to us with the voice of falsehood. Neither did we reveal ourselves on *your* account, so that *you* could see us, nor thus . . . ourselves through the praise and greatness that to us . . . -given to you . . ., but . . .

¹ *murzīdan* is "persecute, harass", not "show pity" as hitherto translated (*S* 9; *Mir.Man.*, ii; *W.-L.*, ii, 556, r 6).

² *ghwd* (*Mir.Man.*, ii), *ghwdg'n* (*Mir.Man.*, i), *ghwyn-* (*ZII.*, ix, 183, 27): the derivation of these words from *vi* + *hū* by Schaefer, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1935, 492, n. 3, is based on the translation I had given; this translation, however, was based on nothing but this selfsame etymology.

³ *Enoch*, 10, 10.

(Col. D) . . . sinners is visible, where out of this fire your soul will be prepared (for the transfer) to eternal ruin (?). And as for you, sinful misbegotten sons of the Wrathful Self,¹ confounders of the true words of that Holy One, disturbers of the actions of Good Deed, aggressors upon Piety, . . . -ers of the Living . . . , who their . . .

(Col. E) . . . and on brilliant wings they shall fly and soar further outside and above that Fire, and shall gaze into its depth and height. And those Righteous that will stand around it, outside and above, they themselves shall have power over that Great Fire, and over everything in it. . . . blaze . . . souls that . . .

(Col. F) . . . they are purer and stronger [than the] Great Fire of Ruin that sets the worlds ablaze. They shall stand around it, outside and above, and splendour shall shine over them. Further outside and above it they shall fly² (?) after those souls that may try to escape from the Fire. And that . . .

G. Sogdian

T ii. Two folios (one only publ. here; the other contains a *wyδβ'γ cn pš'qt δywtty* "Discourse on the Nephilim-demons"). Head-lines: *R*: *pš'n prβ'r*³ ". . . pronouncement", *V*: *iv fryštyt δn CC* "The four angels with the two hundred [demons . . .]".

(*Recto*) (1) 'wmr'z_t ky pr sm'ny_t wm't_{nd} s't (2) ny'tδ'r_{nd} 'ty βynd'nd oo 'tyy xwtyy (3) wyšnd fryšty_t en sm'nyy kw z'y (4) s'r w'xznd oo 'rty CC δywt wyšnd (5) fryštytyy wyn'nd oo [jγw p]cykwyr'nd (6) 'ty δrβnd⁴ oo 'rtyy mrtxmytyh (7) pš'δ ny'tδ'r_{nd} 'ty pγwš't_{nd} (8) oo wyδp'tyy wyšnd fryštyyt w' (9) mrtxmy[y](t)[yy] (cn) δywtty zyn'n[d]⁵ (10) 'tyy pr I kyr[n w](s)tynd oo 'tyšn (11) cwpr p's[yyt w'stynd oo . . .] (12) wnyy kwyšt[(13) z'tyyt wm't_{nd} . . . I δβ'ty' (14) 'pryw 'ngyr(p)[⁶ (15) I δβ'ty' xwtyy [(16) 'rtyy wyš'nd (17) ky en wyšndyyh 'jytyyt (18) wm'(t)[nd oo] cn δywttyh (19) zyn'[nd oo 'tyyšn nymyyh [cn] (*Verso*) (20) xwrsn kyr'n oo 'ty nymyy cn xwr'txyz (21) kyr'n pr iv mzyx γrty' pδ'mn⁷ (22) kw smyr'ryy pδww kww xxxii (23) knδ s'r škr'tδ'r_{nd} oo kyy (24) w'δjyw[nd](yh) cn 'γ'zyh (25) wyšndyh pyδ'r pršt'tyh (26) wm't oo 'tyy 'ry'nwyjn n'm (27) jγyr'nd oo 'rtyh wyš'nd

¹ This passage in particular seems to show that the text is a fragment of the *Kawān*. There are two groups of sinners here: one is (apparently) to be transferred from a preliminary fire-prison to the permanent hell at the end of the world (= the Egrégoroi), the other consists of the κίβδηλοι (= Giants). The digression on their final fate in the great conflagration, under the eyes of the self-satisfied Righteous (cf. *Šābuhragān*, M 470 V), is well in keeping with Mani's discursive style.

² *w'y*- (different from Parth. *w'y*- "to lead") = "to fly" or "to hunt"? Cf. *w'ywg* "hunter" (BBB., where the translation should be changed), *Air. Wb.* 1356, 1407.

³ My pupil I. Gershevitch thinks *prβ'r* should be derived from *prβyr*-. It is true that "explanation, announcement" fits most passages better than "chariot"! Hence, *Mahāyāna* rendered as "the great announcement"?

⁴ See above, E 9-10; cf. *pδ'rβ*-, P 2, 1163, and *Sogdica*, p. 57.

⁵ Cf. *zyt*- BBB., 105 (on f 78); Saka *ysān- ysāt*-, etc.

⁶ 'ngyrf[? Hardly 'ngyrδ[. If -p[, from *ham-kəhrp*-, cf. MPers. *hām-hannām*.

⁷ Cf. NPers. *dāman*, Yidgha *avländ*, Morgenstierne, IIFL., ii, 194.

(28) mrtxmyyt pr p(yr)[nmc](y)k fs'k (29) 'tyy 'nd(y)[k . . .](y)y¹ 'skwnd
 oo (30) q]wn'nd oo oo (31)] fryštyyt (32)] 'ty kw δywt (33) ? ''(x)[']s wytr'nd
 oo (34) ['rtyy wyšn]d CC δywt δn (35) (c)[tf'r fryštyt]h 'pryw (36) šxy(y)²
 ''x's ('kr)[tw]δ'rnd (37) oo wytwr 't[yy] xw(w) [? fryšt]yyt (38) (')'tr nftt
 't[yh γ]wqtt

... they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. They assumed the shape of men³ and hid themselves. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men⁴ from the demons, (10) laid them aside, and put watchers over them . . . the giants . . . were sons . . . with each other in bodily union . . . with each other self- . . . and the . . . that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them⁵ from the demons. And they led one half of them (20) eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the Sumeru mountain, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning.⁶ And one calls (that place) Aryān-waižan. And those men are (or: were) . . . in the first arts and crafts.⁷ (30) . . . they made . . . the angels . . . and to the demons . . . they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the [four angels], until [the angels used] fire, naphtha, and brimstone⁸ . . .

EXCERPTS

H. Sogdian

T ii S 20. Sogdian script.⁹ Two folios. Contents similar to the "Kephalaia". Only about a quarter (I R i-17) publ. here. The following chapter has as headline: "γστ š'nš'y cnn'β[c'n]pδ[yh w]prs = Here begins: Šanšai's¹⁰ question about the world. Init. rty tym ZK š'nš'[y] [cnn] m'rm'ny rwγšny pr'yš[t'kw w'nk'w]'prs' 'yn'k'βc'npδ ZY kw ZKh mrtymyt ('skw'nt) oo ckn'c pyδ'r 'zy mrch 'zγγw'nt = And again Šanšai asked the Light Apostle: this world where mankind lives, why does one call it birth-death (*saṃsāra*, Chin. *shēng-szū*).

¹ Hardly *ywxt]yy* or *fsyt]yy* (it should be *ywxtyt*, etc.).

² Possibly *šxy(w)*, but not *šzwv*.

³ *Enoch*, 17,1: *ὁταν θέλωσιν φαίνονται ὡσεὶ ἀνθρώποι*. *pts'δ*, cf. Skt. *praticchanda*.

⁴ viz. the human associates of the demons, esp. the "daughters of men".

⁵ viz. the giants and their children? Or merely the children of the giants? See below, *S*. According to Syncellus (*apud Fl.-R.*, p. 25) there were three generations: (1) the giants, (2) the Nephilim, their sons, and (3) the Eliud, their grandsons. In the *Book of Enoch* the giants are killed, or rather incited to kill each other, before the Egrēgoroi are punished (ch. 10). Their spirits shall roam the world, until the day of judgment, as *πνεύματα πονηρά* (15,8-16,1).

⁶ This passage shows that the Sogdian text had been translated from either Middle-Persian or Parthian (MPers. *ky myhryzd 'c nwx 'wys'n r'y wyn'rd bwd*, Parthian *ky w'd jywndg 'c nwx hwyn wsn'd wyr'št bwd*).

⁷ *'nδyk* probably = skill, art, ability (differently, *BBB*, p. 105).

⁸ See above, A 97.

⁹ Fairly cursive, difficult to read.

¹⁰ Probably by assimilation from *Šanšai* (= *Šimšai* in *Ezra*).

(1) rty 'wn'kw 'yδcw cwZYšn 'prw (2) sm'ny(th) ZKwy βγyšty myδ'ny (wy)ty (3) wm't oo rty ms tym 'wn'kw cwZYš(n) (4) γypδ 'pz't'ykw (n')β'y tmy' wyt'kw (5) wm't oo rtyšnms 'wn'kw cwZY prw (6) 'βc'npδ wyty wm't wβyw šyrw (w)βyw (7) γnt'kw rty ('γ)'z'nt s't ZKn mrtγmy (8) ywγty ZY 'βs'γt oo oo rty (nwkr) (9) ZKn šγmyz'ty . . . m . (mh) . δ . (h) . δw¹ (10) z'(t)[y] ''[z'y]t rtš[y] ? 'yw 'wγ[y] n[m] (11) kwnt' oo kyZY 'γw s(wγδy)w s'(γm) (12) kw'y 'z[γy](r)ty oo rtšy ms δβtykw z'ty (13) (γ'y) ? rtšy 'γγ' n'm kwnt' rtšy (14) ms swγδ'yw p'ts'γm βwt oo rtyms (15) ZKh 'n'yt kw'yšt cywyšn p'r'ykt (16) δywyty ZY ykšyšty ''z'yt'yt² (17) (*in red ink*) ptymty 'δw C δywyty 'ys'm'nt'kw

. . . and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods, and also what they had seen in hell, their native land, and furthermore what they had seen on earth, — all that they began to teach (*hendiadys*) to the men.³ To Šahmīzād two(?) sons were borne by One of them he named “ Ohya ”; in Sogdian he is called “ Sāhm, the giant ”. And again a second son [was born] to him. He named him “ Ahya ”; its Sogdian (equivalent) is “ Pāt-Sāhm ”. As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons and Yakšas. (*Colophon*) Completed: (the chapter on) “ The Coming of the two hundred Demons ”.

I. Sogdian

M 500 n. Small fragment.

(1) [(mr)t'(n)[y'] (2) [p](r) t'w(nty) zwstmbky'h (3) ny myr(y)ty q'm oo 'rty xw (4) s'h'm qwy δ(wn) xypδδ (5) βr't p(r)yw 'ykwn jw(n)[d]k'm (6) p'rty pr 'nytc fcm[bδ] (7) pr t'[w] 't)y z[w](r) oo 'ty pr

. . . . manliness, in powerful tyranny, he (*or*: you ?) shall not die”. The giant *Sāhm* and his brother will live eternally. For in the whole world in power and strength, and in [they have no equal].

QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

J. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 120, V ii 1–5: ['wd pd 'mdyš]nyh 'y dwysd dyw'n dw r'h sxwn 'y byšyšn 'wd rnz 'yg 'stft 'yn 'w dwjx = and in the coming of the two hundred demons there are two paths: the hurting speech, and the hard labour; these (belong, *or*: lead) to hell.

K. Sogdian

M 363.

(*First page*) (1) pyrn(m)[(2) wm't'nd oo 'rtx'[(3) wyspyy w' xypδ 'rk (pr)[w] (4) pδk' 'škrtδ'r'nd oo ['rty] (5) kōry cywyδ pyδ'r 'yw(š)[t] (6) ptywšt

¹ Read: *cnn δmwmh wδwh 'δw* ?? Or: *cnn δmpmh*, etc. The word *δβ'mpmh* (etc.) cannot possibly be fitted in. One naturally expects: . . . *cnn* *γypδ δβ'mpmh*.

² Short for “*z'yt'yt γnt*”; apparently not: “*z'yt'nt*”.

³ See above, G 28–9, and below, text M. According to *Enoch*, ch. 8, the fallen angels imparted to mankind unholy arts and undesirable knowledge, e.g. astrology, cosmetics, soothsaying, metallurgy, production of weapons, even the art of writing (ch. 69, 9).

'kt'nd[t oo] (7) p'rty x' CC δywt en (8) 'skyy sm'nny pr(m)[(9) [. . .] c'dr kw 'xrwzn [s'r] (10) w'xz'nd 'rty w' '[

(*Second page*) (11) [f]cmbδyy 'ywšt (12) ptywšt 'kt'ndt p'rty (13) [? δywy](š)n xw jw'nmyc ptβnd (14) ['](t)y w'tynny r'ktyy xw (15) [? ptβ]nd cn 'nxrwznny (16) ptβsttyy 'styh (17) (*In red ink*) [p]tmtys^{1c} iiii fcmδy wyδβ'γ (*One line left blank*) (18) (*In red ink*) [''γš]t (yyš)w 'ys'mndyh (19) (*In red ink*)](y) wny 'δ'my šytylyy δyyn (20)]δ(rβδ)['] 'ty .[

(*First page*) . . . before . . . they were. And all the . . . ² fulfilled their tasks lawfully. Now, they became excited and irritated for the following reason : namely, the two hundred demons came down to the sphere from the high heaven, and the . . .

(*Second page*) . . . in the world they became excited and irritated. For their life-lines and the connections of their Pneumatic Veins ³ are joined to the sphere. (*Colophon*) Completed : the exposition of the three worlds. (*Head-line*) Here begins : the coming of Jesus and [his bringing] the religion to Adam and Šitil. . . you should care and . . .

L. Coptic

Kephalaia, 171¹⁶⁻¹⁹ : Earthquake and malice happened in the watchpost of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who arose at the time when they were . . . and there descended those who were sent to confound them.

M. Coptic

Kephalaia, 92²⁴⁻³¹ : Now attend and behold how the Great King of Honour who is *ērvōa*, is in the third heaven. He is . . . with the wrath . . . and a rebellion . . . , when malice and wrath arose in his camp, namely the Egrēgoroi of Heaven who in his watch-district (rebelled and) descended to the earth. They did all deeds of malice. They revealed the arts in the world, and the mysteries of heaven to the men. Rebellion and ruin came about on the earth . . .

N. Parthian

M 35, lines 21-36. Fragment of a treatise entitled 'rdhng wyfr's = Commentary on (Mani's opus) *Ārdahang*.⁴

(21) oo oo 'wd 'c 'dwr wzrg ''znd (22) kw cw'gwn 'xwryd pd dybhr syzdyn (23) 'w 'ym zmbwdyg 'dwr oo 'wš wxš (24) s'yd oo cw'gwn 'ym 'dwr ky pt (25) tnb'r oo 'w b'yn 'dwr oo ky pd b'r (26) 'wd wxrdyg 'syd oo 'xwryd š wxš (27) s'yd oo byd cw'gwn dw br'dr'n (28) ky frg[w] wynd'd oo 'wd pšg mrd oo (29) ['yw pt byd] 'ng'f'd 'wd mwrđ (30) ['hynd] oo cw'gwn 'why' lwy'tyn (31) 'wd rwf'yl 'yw pt byd (32) 'ng'f'd oo 'wd 'pyd 'hynd oo cwgwn^{1c}(33)

¹ Copyist's mistake (read : *ptymty*).

² Presumably the stellar demons.

³ Cf. *JRAS.*, 1942, 232 n. 6.

⁴ If Mani's famous *Ertenk* was indeed a picture-book, this *Viḫrās* may well have been the explanatory text published together with it; cf. Polotsky's suggestion, *Man. Hom.*, 18, n. 1, on Mani's *εἰκόν* (but see *BBB.*, pp. 9 sq.). There is no reason for "identifying" the *Ertenk* with Mani's *Evangelion* (Schaefer, *Gnomon*, 9, 347). The fragments of the *Viḫrās* (M 35, M 186, M 205, M 258, M 740, T ii K, T iii D 278) will be published at some other opportunity.

šrgz'dg g'wz'dg pd mrg oo 'wd (34) rwb's 'yw pd byd 'ng'f'd (35) ['wd 'pyd 'hynd oo] oo 'w'gwn (36) [hw 'dwr wzrg 'w] hrw dw (')[d](w)r oo

And the story about the Great Fire: like unto (the way in which) the Fire, with powerful wrath, swallows this world and enjoys it; like unto (the way in which) this fire that is in the body, swallows the exterior fire that is (*lit.* comes) in fruit and food, and enjoys it. Again, like unto (the story in which) two brothers who found a treasure, and a pursuer lacerated each other, and they died; like unto (the fight in which) Ohya, Lewyātīn (= Leviathan), and Raphael lacerated each other, and they vanished; like unto (the story in which) a lion cub, a calf in a wood (*or*: on a meadow), and a fox lacerated each other, [and they vanished, *or*: died]. Thus [the Great Fire swallows, etc.] both of the fires. . . .¹

M 740. Another copy of this text.

(1) 'hy' lwy'tyn [(2) byd 'ng'f'd oo [(3) šrg z'dg [(4) rwb's 'yw [etc. = Ahya, Leviathan, etc.

*O. Arabic, from Middle-Persian ?*²

Al-Ghaḍānfar (Abū Ishāq Ibr. b. Muḥ. al-Tibrizī, middle of thirteenth century), in Sachau's edition of Beruni's *Āthār al-bāqiyah*, Intr., p. xiv: The *Book of the Giants*, by Mani of Babylon, is filled with stories about these (antediluvian) giants, amongst whom Sām and Narīmān.

P. Coptic

Keph. 93²³⁻²⁸: On account of the malice and rebellion that had arisen in the watch-post of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who from the heavens had descended to the earth, — on their account the four angels received their orders: they bound the Egrēgoroi with eternal fetters in the prison of the Dark(?), their sons were destroyed upon the earth.

Q. Coptic

Manich. Psalm-book, ed. Allberry, 142⁷⁻⁹: The Righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured. This multitude that were wiped out, four thousand Enoch also, the Sage, the transgressors being . . .

R. Coptic

Man. Homil., ed. Polotsky, 68¹⁸⁻¹⁹: . . . evil. 400,000 Righteous . . . the years of Enoch . . .

S. Coptic

Keph., 117¹⁻⁹: Before the Egrēgoroi rebelled and descended from heaven, a prison had been built for them in the depth of the earth beneath the mountains.

¹ The point is that A eats or kills B, after B had finished C. A man killed his brother over the treasure, but was killed by a third party, etc. The Great Fire will devour the bodily fire which had swallowed the "exterior fire". Hence, Ohya killed Leviathan, but was killed by Raphael.

² St. Wikander, *Vayu*, i [1941], 166, quotes my article on Enoch, and my paper in *ZDMG.*, 1936, p. 4, and remarks that *eigentuemlicherweise* I had forgotten Al-Ghaḍānfar's notice on Sām and Narīmān. Less careless readers will find Ghaḍānfar's notice quoted *in extenso* on the page cited by Wikander.

Before the sons of the giants were born who knew not Righteousness and Piety among themselves, thirty-six towns had been prepared and erected, so that the sons of the giants should live in them, they that come to beget . . . who live a thousand years.

T. Parthian

M 291^a. Order of pages unknown.

(*First page*) (1)]'dyng pdkr w(s)[(2)]r'n bxt mrdwhm .[(3)]u hwnwx ngwst o š'n c.[(4)](g)'n pdgryft oo pš pd xr'z[n? (5)](b)ndg u drxt 'by'b oo p[š (6)] u dyw'n bst oo 'wš'n .[(7). hft 'wd dw'dys (p)[

(*Second page*) (8)]r hry hz'r dwysd hšt'd u [(9) wy]št'sp š'h sr oo '[(10)] pd 'pdn 'spyxt oo šbye[(11)]oo byd 'w br 'mšt'g mrd .[(12)]. bzyšk w'c'rg'n wrzyg[r (13)] pd zryh oo 'xw'r[(14)]'n oo zyngyn 'zgd oo[

(*First page*) . . . mirror . . . image . . . distributed. The men . . . and Enoch was veiled (= moved out of sight).¹ They took . . . Afterwards, with donkey-goads . . . slaves,² and waterless trees (?). Then . . . and imprisoned the demons. And of them . . . seven and twelve.

(*Second page*) . . . three thousand two hundred and eighty.³ . . . the beginning of King Vištāsp.⁴ . . . in the palace he flamed forth (*or*: in the brilliant palace). And at night . . . , then to the broken gate . . . men . . . physicians, merchants, farmers, . . . at sea. ? . . . armoured he came out . . .

APPENDIX

U. Parthian

T ii D 58. From the end (. . . r š t) of a hymn.

(1)] . . [. . .]'[] 'wt (2)]d d'h[w](')n oo r'mgr šhrdr^{slc} (3)]d š'h wyšt'sp (4) ?'ry']n wyjn whmn u zryl (5) šh]rd'r b'nbyšn xwdws (6) ?'mws]tyft pdgryft kwm'r (7)] oo tlw'r 'wt' ngwn (8)] . . [] wynd'd 'w y'wydn^{slc}

. . . gifts. A peaceful sovereign [was] King Vištāsp, [in Aryā]n-Waižan⁵ ;

¹ See above, A 98.

² Cf. above, A 105 sqq.

³ Presumably the number of years supposed to have passed from the time of Enoch to the beginning of the reign of Vištāsp. The date for Enoch was probably calculated with the help of the Jewish world-era, or the mundane era of Alexandria (beginning 5493 B.C.), or by counting backwards from the Deluge. Taking 3237 B.C. (but 3251 B.C. according to the Coptic chronology) as the date of the Deluge (see S. H. Taqizadeh, *BSOS.*, X, 122, under c), and adding 669 (= from Enoch's death to the Deluge according to the Hebrew Genesis), and subtracting the number in our fragment, 3,28[8 ?], from 3,237 + 669 = 3,906, the resulting date, 618 B.C., agrees perfectly with the traditional Zoroastrian date for the beginning of Vištāsp's reign (258 + 30 years before Alexander's conquest of Persia, 330 B.C.; cf. Taqizadeh, *ibid.*, 127 sq.). From this one may infer that the famous date for Zoroaster: "258 years before Alexander" was known to Mani (Nyberg, *Rel. Alt. Iran*, 32 sqq., thinks it was invented towards the beginning of the fifth century).

⁴ The name is possibly to be restored in *Türk. Man.*, iii, p. 39, No. 22, R 5, where *wy.t'δlp* was read by LeCoq.

⁵ In quoting this text in *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 5, I took *wyjn* for what it seemed to be, viz. *Vēžan*. But as the appearance of *Bēžan* in connection with Vištāspa is incomprehensible, I have now restored [*'ry'*]n-*wyjn*, see above, G 26.

Wahman and Zarēl The sovereign's queen, Khudōs,¹ . . . received the Faith,² the prince . . . They have secured (a place in) the (heavenly) hall, and quietude for ever and ever . . .

V. Sogdian

M 692. Small fragment. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) (1) k[(2) pyδ'r . . . [(3) 't[y] 'ww βγyšty δm'n 'ty[³ (4) 'ww 'ykwncyk š'twxy(')] (5) 'ty šyryy 'wxryy oo [oo] (6) p'rty (w)[] (nw) wxst[yy ? (7) prywynd jmn(w)[(8) ymyh prw fcm̄b(δ)[(9) wm't oo 'rty pr nwy m['x ? (10) fcm̄bδykt frn[(11) sytm'n mnwz'n[d (12) wysp[

(*Second page*) (13)] h pnc (14)]ps'k nm'ck'n βr'nd oo (15) (')rtšn xw ymyh 'ww ps'kt (16)]t ptycxš oo 'rtxw w'n(t)t (17)]'k ky 't(y) [. .]'tyh (18)](')t mzyx 'xš'wn (19)]yy wm't oo 'rtšn prw (20)](s)tyy oo 'rty šyrn'm (21)] 'ty cn 'ww^{sic} š(yrk)ty (22) p]s'k prw srw w'(st) (23) f]cm̄bδykt

(*First page*) . . . because . . . the House of the Gods, eternal joy, and good . . . ? . . .⁴ For so it is said : at that time . . . Yima was . . . in the world. And at the time of the new moon (?) . . . the blessed denizens of the world⁵ . . . all assembled⁶ . . . all . . .

(*Second page*) . . . they offered five garlands in homage.⁷ And Yima accepted those garlands . . . And those . . . that . . . and great kingship . . . was his. And on . . . them And acclamations⁸ . . . And from that pious (?) . . . he placed the garlands on his head . . . the denizens of the world . . .

¹ For the spelling, cf. *kwδws apud* Theodore bar Kōnay.

² 'mwst = amwast = believer, faithful (not "sad"!), from *hmwd-*, Arm. *havat-*.

³ The lines 3,4 and 14,15 are possibly complete.

⁴ Hardly "food" or "banquet"? Cf. Parth. *wxrn*, etc. Also Budd. Sogd. *wyr-* ('wy'r-) Impf. *w'yr-*, Inf. *wy'wrt*, etc.) "to abandon" (*SCE.*, 562; *Dhuta*, 41; P 2, 97, 219; P 7, 82; etc., appears to be of no use here.

⁵ Cf. NPers. *fehāniyān*.

⁶ Cf. *Vd.*, ii, 20? But the Manich. fragment appears to describe the election of Yima to the sovereignty over the world.

⁷ Cf. *BSOS.*, X, 102, n. 4.

⁸ *šyrn'm* is a *karmadhāraya*, = acclamation(s), cheering, cf. e.g. *Rustam frg.* (P 13, 5) *prw RBkw šyrn'm* "with loud cheers"; it should not be confused with the *bahwrihi šyrn'm'k* "well-reputed, famous" (e.g. Reichelt, ii, 68, 9; *šyrn'm'y*, *ibid.*, 61, 2, cf. *BBB.*, 91, on a 11). But *šyrn'm* is also " (good) fame", see e.g. *VJ.*, 156, 168, 1139.

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The Murder of the Magi

By W. B. HENNING

WHEN the Persians, led by Darius, had slain Gaumāta the Magian and a great number of his colleagues (. . . *ἐκτεινον ὅκου τινὰ μάγον εὕρισκον*), they instituted an annual feast to remind the Magians of their humiliation : it was called τὰ μαγοφόνια (Herodotus, iii, 79), or ἡ μαγοφονία (Ctesias, *epit. Photii* 15, § 46 ed. Gilmore). Gilmore (p. 149 n.) wisely remarked that "the agreement of Herodotus and Ctesias makes it impossible to doubt the existence of this strange custom". Ctesias, after having stayed at the Persian court for seventeen years, could not help knowing whether or not such a feast existed, and he would never have foregone the opportunity of correcting his predecessor.

In spite of this, however, J. Marquart thought that Herodotus' (and Ctesias') story was based merely on a misunderstanding. The Persians, he suggested, did have a great feast on (or close to) the 10th of *Bāgayādi* (the date of Gaumāta's death) which was called **Baga-yāda* "sacrifice to Baga" and was devoted to the adoration of Baga = Mithra ; it represented the feast known in later times under the name of *Miθrakāna* (*Mihrgān*) which was held at the beginning of autumn. Greek observers, misled by the coincidence of that feast with the anniversary of the murder of Gaumāta, misinterpreted its Persian name and thus invented the *Magophonia*.¹

One may feel some regret in thus finding one of the more colourful bits of historical tradition consigned to the critical scrapheap, and therefore prefer the compromise solution recently put forward by S. H. Taqizadeh.² According to this scholar there may have been two feasts close to each other, the **Bagayāda-Mihrgān* on the day of the autumnal equinox, and the *Magophonia* on the 10th of *Bāgayādi*. In the year of Gaumāta's death, 522 B.C., both dates would have fallen on the same day, or possibly on consecutive days : the conspirators may have chosen a feast-day for the execution of their plot, "when the court was expected to indulge in pleasure

¹ *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, i, 64 ; ii, 132, 135-6.

² *Old Iranian Calendars*, 39 sq., 44 sq.

and was less on its guard." With the introduction of the "Young Avestan" calendar about 441 B.C. both feasts were united as the "lesser" and the "greater" *Mihrgān*, on the 16th and 21st of the month of *Mihr*.¹

We may do well, however, to remind ourselves on what flimsy foundation the structure is built which Marquart has erected around the presumed feast of **Bagayāda*. Its basis is merely an etymology of the name of the Old Persian month of *Bāgayādi*, an etymology which has little to recommend itself, judged either from the point of view of word-formation,² or from the general character of the other Old Persian month-names (purely agricultural names).³ The further assumption that *baga* (if indeed that word entered into the compound) had the value of another name for Mithra, is unsupported by any⁴ evidence as far as Western Iran is concerned; in a limited sense it can be admitted only for

¹ On the other hand, the double feast of *Mihrgān* may owe its origin merely to the mistake made when the epagomenæ were shifted from the end of the year to the end of the first month, at the occasion of the first intercalation (cf. the Lesser and Greater *Naurōz*). The mistake would make itself felt after the epagomenæ were placed at the end of (or, at any rate, after) the month of *Mihr*, i.e. after the seventh intercalation, about A.D. 400. This, therefore, should be the earliest date for the division of the *Mihrgān*. Beruni, *Chron.*, 224², mentions Hormizd I in this connection (not Hormizd IV, Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 45, n. 4). To speak of a "five-day feast of *Magophonia*" as Marquart did (i, 64), is incorrect. Herodotus clearly says that the feast occupied a single day.—A different case is presented by the Lesser and Greater *Tīragān* (Beruni, *Chron.*, 220²⁰). Cf. the Manichaean fragment M 16 in which (*verso*, line 2) we have to restore 'ud n'm [*y tyr*] rwc 'y wzrg "And *Nəbiyā* in his book has mentioned the name of the 'Great *Tīr-rōz*' for this reason that a great and mighty work is performed on that fourteenth day".

² Not counting *θāigrēi* (of uncertain etymology), *Bāgayādi* would be the only case of *vrdāhi* in an Old Persian month-name. A form from \sqrt{yaz} corresponding to *-yādi* is unknown elsewhere in Iranian. A parallel is often drawn between *Bāgayādi* and *Āθriyādiya* although the endings differ. In no case could the latter mean "(month) of fire-worship": there is no such word as **āθri*- "fire". According to Meillet-Benveniste, *Gramm.*, 65, 154, the original form was **āθr-yādiya*; this would represent pre-Iranian **ātr-yāziya* which, however, could appear in OPers. only as **ā(ā)ryādiya*: *-tr-* becomes *-θr-* in Iranian only where a vowel follows. Bartholomæ more correctly assumed **āθriya* as first part of the compound (pre-Iranian **ātriya*). But this means "ashes", not "fire": who would worship ashes?

³ With this in view one might prefer to find Old Iranian *bāga* "lot; allotment; cultivated land" (Sogdian *bāy*, Persian *bāy*, etc.) in the first part of the compound. *-yādi* may be connected with Vedic *yādamāna*, Skt. *yādas*, etc. Thus, *bāgayādi* possibly = "fertilizing the farmland", or even "irrigation of the gardens".

⁴ For *Bagay-arič* (*Bagay-arin*) see Marquart's own remarks, loc. cit., ii, 133 n.

Sogdiana¹ and Khwarezm² in late Achæmenian times.³ In Old Persian *baga* is "deity" in general,⁴ and in particular the attribute of Ahura Mazdā. How little, in Western Iran, the epithet of *baga* clung to Mithra's name, is shown by the Manichæan texts (which reflect the usage of the third century A.D.) in which Mithra is always called *yazd* (*Mihryazd*), while *baga* forms an ingredient of Ahura Mazdā's (and other deities') names (*Ohrmizdbag*, *Ohrmizdbai*). Finally, the projection of the later feast of *Mihrgān* into remote antiquity is open to objection. Ctesias is the first to mention such a feast,⁵ without however connecting it in any way with the feast of Magophonia.⁶ It was in Ctesias' time that the cult of Mithra gained wider acceptance among the Persians: there is no reason to believe that a feast dedicated to that deity had any importance for them long before Artaxerxes II.

However that may be, the case for the verity of Herodotus' statement will be strengthened by proving that an exact replica of the word *μαγοφόνια* (*μαγοφονία*) existed in Iranian. Such a word occurs in the Manichæan-Sogdian fragment T M 393 (published here for the first time), as *mwyzt-* (line 27). As the Sogdian text is evidently a translation made from Middle Persian (or Parthian), it is somewhat difficult to decide whether *mwyzt-* is a genuine Sogdian word or merely transliterated from the Middle Persian.⁷ Whichever may be true there is little doubt that *mwyzt-* is not a recent composition,⁸ but continues an Old Iranian word **mayru-žati* = *μαγοφονία*.

¹ *βapakān* = *Mihrmāh*. In what way *βappūr* = *devaputra* = *t'ien-tsū* could point to the equation of *βay* = *Mithra* (Marquart, loc. cit., ii, 134), escapes me.

² *βiy* = *Mihrrōz* (Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 38, n. 2).

³ At the time of the introduction of the "Young Avestan" calendar in those provinces.

⁴ Hence also applicable to Mithra. For the Avesta see Benveniste, *Les Mages dans l'Ancien Iran*, 22 sq.

⁵ Athenæus, *Dipnosoph.*, x, 434e ("on a single day").

⁶ As S. H. Taqizadeh rightly stresses, loc. cit., 45.

⁷ The correctly transliterated form should have been **mwyzδ*, but the translator may have Sogdianized it. The Sogdian script does not distinguish between -z and -ž.

⁸ "to kill" is *ōzadan* in Middle Persian (beside *kuštan*); in Sogdian, *žan-*, *žit-* is hardly used, except for "striking" string instruments.—I take this opportunity to correct the reading of the Middle Persian fragment M 177 (Mueller, *H.R.*, ii, 89) where 'wzy'n (*recto*, line 11) is written as a single word: "There are nine varieties of slaughtering. Firstly, he who himself kills. Secondly, he who attempts it. Thirdly, he who impels (others to it), etc." 'wzy'n = Parthian 'wzy'n "slaughter" (thus to be corrected, *BSOS.*, ix, 80) = Sogd. 'wzy'n ('wzy'n), from *ava-žaya-* (*-ghnyjo-* ?).

Sogdian *mwyzt-* in the Manichæan text means "killing the Magians", but not "the feast devoted to remembrance of that act". The murder of the Magi is here ascribed to Alexander: this agrees well with the Zoroastrian tradition in which Alexander always appeared as a monster of iniquity who burnt the sacred books and massacred the priests.¹ The Magians naturally desired to let the true origin of the **Mayu-žati* fall into oblivion,² and therefore hastened to transfer the evil deed to the person of the hated conqueror. The Manichæans, of course, derived their information from the Zoroastrian priests.³

The Sogdian fragment in which the **Mayu-žati* is mentioned enumerates the "greatest sinners in history", those who interfered with the mission of the inspired prophets. To make the text understandable, it may be worth while to recapitulate the Manichæan prophetology. Mani based his teaching on revelation. The object of the divine inspirations he had received, was to make known the true state of the world to mankind. God had granted similar revelations to earlier prophets, Adam, Zoroaster, Buddha, Christ, and others. But the content of all revelations, whether received by Mani or by his predecessors, was the same: they emanated from the same source and were given for the same purpose. Consequently Christianity, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Manichæism must have been one and the same religion. This was Mani's firm belief, and his conviction was in no way disturbed by the deplorable fact (which he could not and did not fail to observe) that those religions were very different from each other. Casting round for a reason to account for this strange diversity, he evolved his theory of the "corruption" of the earlier religions. The prophets had failed to take due precautions for ensuring the continuity of their teachings; they had written no books or too few books; their first disciples already had misunderstood them, and the misunderstandings had multiplied from generation to generation; lastly, the evil powers had been busy sending their emissaries to increase the confusion, so that in the end the kernel of truth was completely lost in the medley of error. From the Manichæan point of view, the traditional

¹ Cf. Markwart, *Suedarmenien*, 536 sqq., Bailey, *Zor. Problems*, 151 sqq.

² Agathias complains that they were all too successful in this (*Hist.*, ii, 25, pp. 122 sq.).

³ In Greek sources Alexander is a model of toleration. Cf. especially the Syriac *Hist. of Alex.*, ed. Budge, ii, 13 (transl. 82-3).

enemies of the other religions were not greater sinners than their apostles, teachers, and propagators. All of them were equally guilty of leading mankind astray from the path of the truth. Thus we find the murderous Devadatta joined by King Aśoka and the pious Upagupta (?), or the name of the venerable Īmāsp coupled with that of the accursed Alexander.

Among the enemies of Zoroaster is included one *Kūyūne* (or *Kōyōne*, -e from -ak), "the son of Ahriman." As far as I know, no such name is mentioned in other sources.¹ This is puzzling because the other personages enumerated in the Manichæan text are very well known indeed. However, the name recurs in another Manichæan-Sogdian fragment, M 549, the text of which will be found at the end of this article. Its purport is not very clear, but it seems to be concerned with some heathenish practices. The "Lady *Nana*" (or *Nan*), in line 20 of that fragment, may be the goddess *Nana(i)*.² The town (?) of *Žimat*³ reminds one of Hsüan-ts'ang's 銳秣陀 *Žuei-mei-to* (𐰽𐰺𐰭𐰆𐰏𐰤),⁴ Ibn Khurdābeh's الزمان,⁵ to the south-west of Balkh.

TM 393

Sogdian ⁶ script of the late type. Caption: *V ny'wš'k'n'k R wy-δβ'γ* = "Homily addressed to laymen". The appending folio (not published here) contains a *ky'n wβr's* = "discourse on the soul".⁷

(R 1) δ'rδ rty wy'nš L' βyrtw-δ'rδ rty c'n'kw (2) prm tnp'r RBkm'nyty wm'tsδ rtenn tnp'r(-) (3) mycy š't'wy'kh pyδ'r ZKn γrβ w'tδ'r (4) 'z-w'nh z-ytδ'rδ ZY š'twyw ZY wyš'nty-t (5) 'krtsδ

¹ The name given by Zātspram, xxiii, 8 (xxv, 2, ed. Anklesaria), cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 94, can hardly be compared. This goes also for *Agonaces* (?), Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxx, 1 (2), 4. The name of *Kōyan-ābād* (capital of Bādghēs, Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, 150; *Wehrot*, 40) is scarcely pertinent.

² See my *Sogdica*, p. 7. Cf. *Hist. of Alexander*, ed. Budge, 204⁷ (transl. p. 115). *δβ'mbn* recalls MPers. *bānūk* as epithet of Anāhitā; cf. Hoffmann, *Martyrer*, 155; Greek Agathangelus, 14⁷⁴, 15¹⁰⁰, 30⁸⁸.

³ This is also the name of the eleventh Sogdian month.

⁴ See Watters, i, 113 sq.

⁵ 37⁸, in the tax-list of 'Abdullāh b. Ṭāhir. See Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, p. 227.

⁶ [restored], (damaged or uncertain) letters, see *BSOS.*, xi, p. 56.

⁷ An interesting sentence from that "discourse" may be quoted here: *rtwkr ZK wyspy rw'n ZY priority š't cym'yδ mrd'sp'nt βyyšty βrkt'k ynt rtān γwty γypδ ty'my βnt* "All souls and Fravashis are cut from those element-gods; they are their own seed".

rty 'kdry γwδk'r p'r'γsd 'wy-h (6) δywyty δsty-' 'tβn γw L' z'ty L' (7) δwγth pc'yty L' wδwh L' pryš L' (8) mr'z L' γwtyγwyšt'kw ZY L' šyrγwz-'kw (9) [L'] 'γw γz-ny γ-r'm'kw L' 'sp'nch L' (10) (Z)K š'yknw L' γns s'r'βγ^{sic} L' šyr'kk (11) pršt'kw L' 'γw z-nycykw 'spy p'rZ-Yšn (12) wyspn'čw pry ZK yw'r 'krty ZY 'wyh (13) [t]myh 'wptsδ^{sic} ¹ rty 'kdry dymyδ tm'yk 'try (14) swγsδ'k'm ZY rm 'tδrmnw ZY δywyty pr'γw pr (15) 'ykwncykw βntw βstyty βwδ'k'm oo oo

(16) rty 'γw 'prtmcykw 'psypw w'β'ky ZY 'krt'ny (-) (17) k'r'kw ZKh mrtynh wm't [k]y ZY 'dry y'wr (18) ZKw 'δ'm cnn dyny nyš'k'w [ZY ZK] ² 'prtm'wh (19) ptyw'nk w γh kynh wm'tw [ky ZY ZKw γypδ] (20) 'HYw ³ ptywstδ'rty ZY γwy-(r)[sny kyr'n cynt'r ?] (21) ZKw 'prtmw γnt'kw γh '(δ)[⁴ *about 10 letters*] (22) 'kδ'r'ntw ky ZY ZKw pr'mn'neh [δynh nštw] (23) δ'r'nty ZY 'w δs z-nk'nw pty'r prw ['βc'npδ] (24) 'wst'tw δ'r'nt oo rtyw δβtykw ['psypw] (25) w'β'kw 'γw z-m'spw wm't ky [ZY prw] (V 26) 'z-r'wšcw psypw wytwd'rty rtyw nksynt^{sic} (27) MLK ⁵ ky ZY mwγz-tw 'kδ'rty rtyw kwγ-wn'kw (28) ZK 'tδrmnw z-t'k ky ZKw mwγ'neh δynh (29) nštwδ'rty oo ZY 'št'ykw 'ps'ypw w'β'k (30) 'γw wpr'tt šmny wm'tw rtyw šwk' MLKy^{sic} ⁶ (31) ky prw š'kmnw pwt'y 'ps'ypw wytw δ'rt (32) ZY ms 'γw tyβδ'tty 'krt'nk'r'y ky [Z]Kw (33) pwt'y δynh nštwδ'rty oo ZY ctβ'r-mykh^{sic} (34) 'psypw w'β'kw γw 'škr'y-wt' wm't k(y) (35) prw mšyγ' 'spypw^{sic} wγδ'rty rtms 'k[rt](n)y (36) k'reh γh s'tt'nh z-wγš'nch ky ZY 'w (37) trs'k'neh δynh nštw δ'rty rtms tym (38) 'nytw 'krt'ny kr'yty wm't'ntw ky 'tšn (39) ZKh 'z-h 'tyw 'tδrmnw β'r'yeykw z-γtw (40) δ'rty rty prw pwt'yšty ZY rγ'ntty ZY prw (41) 'rt'wty dynd'rty ZY pr šyr'krtyty mrtymty (42) 'ps'ypw wyt(wδ'r)ty^{sic} rty y'ntt w'β (43) 'krt'ny kr'(yt)[rm] 'tδrmnw pr'w^{sic} prwh^{sic} (44) ['ykwncykw βntw] βstyty βntk'm w'n'kw ZY (45) [*about 14 letters*] βntk'm oo oo (46) [*about 15*]kw p'z-ny δrm'ykw γwβw ZK (47) [*about 12*]ntw rγwšny βr'yšt'kw βγ'y mr (48) [m'ny w'n'](kw) prm'tδ'rty kw nγ'wš'kt s'r (49) [kδ' βn] (r)yz-'tk'm rty nγ'wšδ 'tβn prβ'yr'n (50) [*about 8 letters + w*](r)nkyntw nγ'wš'kty ky ZY ZKw mn'

¹ *δpatsθ* shortened from *δpastsθ*.

² Not sufficient space for ZY ZKh.

³ γγw. Cf. P 2, 149; P 12, 62, etc.

⁴ 'δ[: δ rather doubtful.

⁵ mδk'.

⁶ mδky.

Translation

(First section)¹ " . . . and you have failed to obtain redemption. While in that body you were arrogant,² and for the pleasure of the body you took the lives of many beings and even enjoyed it. But now you are left to yourselves, alone in the hands of the demons : neither son nor daughter can help you, neither wife nor concubine,³ neither hireling nor friend⁴ nor well-wisher, neither treasure nor wealth,⁵ neither hostel nor palace nor a firm tower,⁶ neither good

¹ The first part of the text is an imaginary address to sinners upon their arrival in hell (lines 1-15). It was inserted in a lecture on sin and sinners given (supposedly) by Mani to an assembly of *auditores* (see the caption). The main section (lines 16-45), concluding the lecture, gives a list of the greatest sinners of history. With line 46 a new chapter begins : its few remaining words show that the fragment formed part of a collection of addresses similar in style to the *Kephalaia*. Cf. also the Sogdian text in *BSOS.*, xi, 69 sq.

² Lit. " while you were in that body as arrogant ones, you took . . . ".

³ The signification of *pryš* is not known. An older form, *pryrš*, occurs twice in the colophon of P 8. The man who ordered the manuscript, Čurak the son of N'p't'yr, of the Xan (γ'n) family, invokes the blessings of heaven on the members of his family, beginning with his grandfather (ny'k 'BY') and his grandmother (ny'k m'th). After having dealt with the living ones (172-6), he enumerates his deceased relations (178-186, a long list), amongst them his wife Māχ-dāy (185). At the end, after friends, etc., and only before the " five classes of living beings of the Triloka ", the 'sp'yšk *pryrš* appear = " servants (and) slave-girls " (or " respectful slave-girls " ?). But later on (191) the *pryrš* occupy the first place : " may I, this slave Čurak, express the wish that together with the *pryrš* and the children and the whole family we all may be well, free from disease, pious, meritorious, etc. "

⁴ γwtyγwšt'kw, lit. " self-wished ", presumably = " friend ". For the compound, cf. Skt. *śveṣṭa*. The word occurs in P 2, 151 (γwtyγwšt'k), P 6, 91 (γwtyγwšt'k), and P 8, 186 (γwtyγwšt'yt, pl.), twice combined with šyγwz'k.

⁵ Sogdian γrāme compares with Parthian gr'mg " possessions " (thus read in *Mir.Man.*, iii, a 13, p. 850, instead of gr'g) and Pahlavi gl'mk = grāmag which renders the Gathic gr̥h̥ma-. The Pahlavi word which clearly cannot be regarded as a transliteration (that would be gl'h̥m), is explained as χwāstag (Y. 32¹³, p. 141) = " possessions, wealth " (Neryosengh lakṣmī), and also as pārag " presents, bribe ". Indeed, it would seem that gr̥h̥ma is merely an older form of grāmag (etc.). There is no reason for deviating from the Pahlavi version and taking gr̥h̥ma for a personal name or translating as " Opferfresser ". The stem is gr̥h̥ma-, n., in Y. 32¹³ (gr̥h̥mā acc. pl., " the karpan preferred money, possessions to Right "), but gr̥h̥mah- n. in 32¹³ (" they shall get that wealth in hell . . . "), and in 32¹⁴ (" even the Kavis have had an eye on his money "). Cf. also MPers. grāmīg, Pers. girāmi " treasured, valued, beloved ".

⁶ Sogdian sārūy (see *BBB.*, p. 104) which translates Syr. *magdlā* (μάγδος), Matthew xxi, 33, Luke, xxiii, 4, links up with Pers. sārūy(e), Arab. sārūq, the name of several labyrinthine castles of great antiquity of which the most famous was the citadel of Gay (see Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, 135; Christensen, *Premier Homme*, i, 196 sq., 201, 208 sq., 212 sq.; *Fārsnāme*, p. 29). The Sogdian would seem to support Marquart's proposal (loc. cit., p. 21, and *UGE.*, ii, 62 sq.) to find an older form

equipment nor a harnessed ¹ horse—rather everything you loved is now mourning (?) ² You have fallen into Hell and shall burn now in this hellish fire. Together with Ahriman and the demons you will be bound in the eternal prison.”

(*Second section*) (16–24) The first calumniator ³ and sinner was *Martēn* ⁴ (= Eve) who three times led ⁵ Adam astray from the (true) religion, and the first murderer was Cain ⁶ who killed his own brother. And in the East ⁷ the first wicked deed was done by the

of this Iranian word in the mysterious *erbug* = *ērbūg* in the “Hymn of the Soul” (*Acta Thomæ*), whose Greek equivalent is *λαβύρινθος*. Cf. also *λαβύρινθος* in a similar passage in the Acts of Cyriacus and Julitta (restored by W. E. Crum, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xliv, 1943, p. 123, n. 1). Arab. *šarbūkāh*, mentioned by Dr. Crum, belongs to modern Syrian Arabic (thus Belot s.v.), the “root” *šarbaka* being merely a development from Classical Arabic *šabbaka* (see Dozy).

¹ *zēn* = weapons, P 7, 152; P 13, 15; Man. *zyyn* M 133 V ii, 1; M 600m 10. Hardly here = saddle (as Pers. *zīn*) which in Sogd. is *pyrδn-*, P 13, 6, from **parid(h)āna-* = Persian *pālān* “packsaddle”, cf. Pers. *pālād* (also, wrongly, *bālād*) “a (pack-)horse” from **parid(h)āta-*. The reduction of *-dān* to *-dan* is normal in Sogdian; cf. also Wakhi *peden*, *pōδn* “saddle”, Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 533 (from **pōrδen* ?). Note that *eyrh* VJ. 770, *Dhuta* 15, P 6, 138, is “wheel”, not “saddle” (the remark on *eyrh* is struck out in the copy of his paper in *J.A.*, 1936, i [p. 228], M. E. Benveniste very kindly sent me).

² This line is incomprehensible. There should be *cnn* before *wyspn'cw* (cf. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1942, 99). There ought to be a pronoun referring to the sinners (viz. *-βn*, instead of *-šn*). Finally, *yw'r*, usually = “but, only”, also “except” (e.g. P 6, 67: *yw'r ZY nykyr'n cnn*), is troublesome. Probably there were two different words: 1. “but”, etc., 2. “sad(ness)” or “mourning” (hence comparable to Parthian *wō'r* = *wiwār*). See VJ., 1110: *rtýβn pr L wýš'm p'rwtý . . . yw'r 'krt'ym* “(Not only) have I no joy in you, but I am rather mourning (you)” (on *'nw'zty* ? *'nw'zty* ? *'zw'ntý* ? see *BBB.*, p. 66; “mourning for the living” = mourning although you are still alive ?). The clearest passage is in M 178 i V 17: *pr jwky' pw'r f oo prw wýšyy kw 'tyyēn 'ndwzc nyysē oo prw fry'wyyh pww jyš'woc oo prw fryy'nw'z kw 'tyyēn yw'r nyysē* “in health without sickness, in joy where they have no sorrow; in love without hatred, in groups of friends where they have no mourning”.

³ Cf. M 118 ii V 11: *'rsk yp'k . . . nfyryn 'ty psypw'βky* “envy and hatred (anger) . . . cursing and slandering”. Man. Letter, iii, 14: *[p]šyyp ny w'β'mk'm* “I shall not slander”. Possibly connected with Buddh. *'βs'yp*- P 2, 1168 (“to throw down” ?) and the words given by Bailey, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 231.

⁴ Or *Martēna*. Cf. Khwarezmian *Mardāna* (Beruni, *Chron.*, 99¹⁴), Man.MPers. *Murdayānag*, etc. (see Christensen, *Premier Homme*, i, 9 sq.; Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 179 sq.).

⁵ Lit. “pulled out, away”.—“Three times”: cf. *Homilies*, 68¹⁴.

⁶ The Sogdian gender endings show that the translator imagined that Cain was a woman! Cf. *BBB.*, p. 101.

⁷ In the older Manichaean texts, those written in Babylonia, “East” connotes “India” (cf. e.g. *Kephalaia*, 12¹⁸, 1⁶; similarly “West” = “Syria”, *Kephalaia*, 7¹⁸; Kessler, 349¹⁸; Beruni, *Chron.*, 207¹⁷, etc.), while in the later writings it implies “Chinese Turkestan” (see *BBB.*, p. 10).

A s¹ who spoilt the Brahmanic religion and established the ten adversities in the world. (24-9) The second calumniator was Žāmāsp who slandered Azrušč (Zarathushtra), and (so did) King Naksintar (= Alexander)² who committed the murder of the Magi, and Kūyūne, the son of Ahriman, who (= Kūyūne) spoilt the Magian religion. (29-33) The third calumniator was WPR'TT (= Upagupta?),³ the śramaṇa, — and King Šoka (= Aśoka)⁴ who slandered Buddha Šākman,⁵ and further the sinner Devadatta who spoilt the Buddha's religion.⁶ (33-7) The fourth calumniator was Iscariot who slandered Christ, and the (fourth) sinner^{tem.} (was) Satan^{tem.} the hard-hearted (?)⁷ one^{tem.}

¹ Had this name been preserved, it might have given a valuable pointer to the source from which this curious statement was derived (Buddhist? Greek?). As far as I can see there is no equivalent report in the accounts furnished by the companions of Alexander, or by Megasthenes (Strabo, xv, 59-60, C. 712-13, from Megasthenes, *ibid.*, 66, C. 716-17, from Nearchos, *ibid.*, 70, C. 719, from an unknown source, is hardly comparable; cf. E. R. Bevan, *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, i, 419 sqq.); cf. also Palladius (Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 7-16, ed. C. Müller) and Bardesanes, *Lois des Pays*, p. 20, ed. Nau (pp. 45-6 transl.). One can hardly ascribe the statement of the text to Mani who never included Brahmanism in the list of the inspired religions.

² Corrupted from 'rksynt. Note the *ks* (as in Pahlavi, etc.) against *xs* in MPers. 'lxsyndrgyrd, *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 302 (in the Sogdian version of the missionary history, cf. *OLZ.*, 1939, 242, *rysynt'ykyrd*).

³ One would expect *wpkupt*, or, if a Middle Indian form *Upagutta* had been used, *wpkwt* (*wpkwtt*, *wpk'wt*, *wpk'wtt*). Even *wpk'tt*, reproducing Middle Persian (?) *'wpgt*, would be possible, in view of *š'kmn* for *Šākyamuni*. Now, *wpk'tt*, in an earlier Sogdian manuscript, could have been misread as *wpr'tt*: one often experiences some difficulty in distinguishing the letters *k* and *r* from each other in even carefully written Sogdian MSS.—In considering this restitution one must bear in mind that *wpr'tt* should represent the name of a man famous in the history of Buddhism, preferably of someone associated with Aśoka; cf. F. W. Thomas, *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, i, 498.

⁴ *šok* contrasts with the Central Asian forms given by Bailey, *BSOS.*, x, 919. While the indispensable initial *A-* is missing here, there is a more than superfluous *A-* in the Sogdian spelling of *Kaniška's* name (cf. Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1942, 15 sq.) which occurs in P 8, 29: '*knšk 'st'wp*' *br'y'r* = *Kaniška-stūpa-vihāra*; cf. '*kwc*' = *Kuc(i)*, *BSOS.*, ix, 566; *Sogdica*, p. 61.

⁵ Cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, 880^b and n. 2.

⁶ The stereotyped relative clauses seem to have been distributed at random among the "calumniators".

⁷ Here again the translator has blundered, in mistaking the sex of Satan, cf. *BBB.*, p. 101. Previously I had suggested that *zwyš'nch* belonged to *zwyšk-* (*žwzšq-*, *šrywšk-*) "bhikṣu, disciple", but that does not make sense. In view of the copyist's carelessness it may be permitted to ascribe another mistake to him and to read *zwy'm'nch* instead = *žoymānt*, fem. of *žoymāne*, Luke, 19¹¹, = Syr. *qatya* (*žoy-* from *drayu-* from the base of Av. *drang-*; here hardly belongs Saka *dīra-* which could better be derived from **diry-* from Av. *driyu-*).—Satan and

who spoil the Christian religion. (37–45) There were still other sinners whom Greed and Ahriman kept as their mounts,¹ and who slandered the Buddhas and the Arhants, the Righteous Dēndārs and the Pious Men. All these many sinners shall be bound in the eternal prison, together with Ahriman, and they shall be

(Third section) (46–50) [And again the pure-]hearted Dharmarājā,² the . . . Light Apostle, the Lord Mār Mānī spoke thus to the Hearers : “ If you please, listen, and I shall explain to you the faithful Hearers who [accept] my [teachings]

M 549

Lower half of a folio. Manichæan script. The appending folio deals with astrological matters (not given here).

(R 1)]ww (2)]rywyy prw (3)]s(m)[]m w'nw 'tyh (4) prywyδ mryncnd w' mγwn xwrmztyc (5) δ'm oo 'tyšn β't βyryy 'ty z'wr (6) wγšyy 'ty 'xwsndyy' wyyh mγwn (7) dyw'stzyy(y) δ'myy oo 'rtyy nwkr [? št](y)w (8) mzyx 'n(z)r'³ 'ty prδβn pty'scnd (9) ww rw'nsp'syy oo 'rty c'nw x' (10) rw(')[ns]p'syy ptxsxyy oo 'rtyy 'yw (11) [about 7] qwγwnyy 'wštyyt δw'n (12) [about 7] .

Iscariot: cf. *Mir.Man.*, iii, pp. 880, 883. The translation of the first passage, i, 72 sqq., is to be corrected: “ The cup of poison and death, hatred was poured (Pers. *gusār-*) over you, Boy, by Iscariot, etc.”

¹ Cf. M 904, 17–19: *mγwn wjyδw'dyy β'rycyq[ē] δyn'βrē 'ty ny[wδ'kt]* “ All mounts of the Holy Ghost: the Elect and the Hearers”. *Mir.Man.*, iii, l 40 (on the reading see below, p. 143, n. 6): “ Satan made Iscariot his mount ” (cf. Luke, 22³, εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς . . . Ἰσκαριώτην). Possibly also *ibid.*, i 71, *bāragān tē šmagift*. Cf. also the following somewhat confused Middle Persian passage (M 788, 2–8): *h'n hm w'xš [yw]dhr [gry](p)t b'rg 'w šymw[n . . .] [y']qwβ qyf' mry(m) mrt' (p)'wlys pytrws tykl'y bhyr [. .](š)t' '(w)[d] (h)yrm' šwb'n [oo 'wδ'n qy[rδ] w'xšwrsic pd šhr šhr 'wd d'št dyn pd p'qyb* “ The Holy Ghost also took as his mounts: Simon, . . . , James, Cephas, Mariam, Martha, Paul, Peter, Thecla, BHYR (?), . . . , and Hermas the shepherd. They became apostles in the various lands and kept the religion in a state of purity”. (*šymw*, at the head of the list, is Simon Peter rather than Simon the Canaanite: Peter thus is represented three times, as *šymw*, *qyf'*, and *pytrws*. Cf. M 18, V 12, and Allberry, *Psalm-book*, 142 sq., 192, 194. A gross mistake is “ Hermas the shepherd”, instead of “ the shepherd of Hermas ”).

² Restore: *[rty tym ZK 'ws'wyt']kw p'zny* (but it should be *'ws'wyt-p'zn'y*), or: *[rty tym cnn 'yw'rδ]kw p'zny* (however, there should be ZK before *δrm'ykw*). Possibly *δrm'ykw γwβw* formed merely the end of a longer compound, “ the . . . citta-dharma-rājā.” The introduction of such Buddhist terms may be due to the translator; cf. line 40, “ the Buddhas and Arhants ” = “ the apostles”. In any case, the chapter beginning in line 46 need not have been joined originally with the preceding text.

³ Possibly *'n(w)r'*.

'rtyšn 'wrδ βwt̄ xw (13) [about 7] (xw) ? qwywnyy w'βttt x' (14)](x') ? 'spnd

(V 15) prp[(16) zprtqryy [(17) 'rty ywnyyδ kw[]ryw[(18) 'wjγδδt̄ 'rty βwt̄ xw ywxn' 'pšyyk¹ (19) 'spyy ptxwng ryyt̄ ('ngr'nd² 'tyh̄ (20) γwšyy "s oo 'rt̄x' nnδβ'mbn δn (21) ['y](n)ctyy wyy ytqwy' tyys'nd γwδ(y)³ (22) ptšq'fnd 'sk' wxwn'nd r'yynd (23) ryyš'nd (f)tr'nd⁴ 'ty γryw prw z'y'y (24) frp's'nd oo 'rty pncmx' [? qn]δδ⁵ (25) kyy jymt̄ xwyndyy 'wrδ r[. . . .]δ (26) 'sp'δ 'rty w' nfryyn[(27) jmykyy' mnd''γ'ryy' [(28) qnδ [

Translation

(First page) . . . so that thereby they would wreck the whole Ahuramazdian Creation, and that in the whole Demonic Creation they would have success and power, joy and satisfaction. And now, thirdly (?), they did much harm and injury to the "soul-service". For when the "soul-service"⁶ is performed, one

¹ Or *ywkn* 'pšyyx. A letter may be missing at the end of the last word ('pšyyk[.], or 'pšyyx[.]). Cf. *xurny pšyncn*, *S.T.*, ii, 6, 9-10. As the past stem is *pšyt*, we probably have a noun *pšēk* here.

² Possibly (*m*)*ngr'nd*. However, an imperfect is not wanted, the preceding and following finite forms being in the present. Probably *ngr'nd* is an infinitive, or rather a verbal noun, parallel to *pšyyk* and *ptxwng* and depending on *βwt*. This entails taking also "s for a verbal noun, with the genitive (?) *γwšyy* depending on it. The latter may belong to *γōš* "ear" rather than to *γōš* "metal"; there was also *γōše* from *γōšak* "spy".

³ Possibly *γwδ(w)*. But cf. Chr. *γwδy*, Buddh. *γwδ'k*, *BSOS.*, x, 91, *γwδ'kh*, P 8, 108 (cf. Av. *gaoidi*). Different is *γwδ-*, P 2, 962 = Av. *gūtha-*.

⁴ Or (*p*)*tr-*. Cf. *'pt'r-* "to pluck (hairs)" *SCE.*, 88, and Pers. *fitar-* "to pull to pieces" (probably borrowed from Sogdian).

⁵ *pncmx*[. . .]δδ. The first word, *pncmx*, is apparently complete. It is written as a single word, hence possibly not *pncm* "fifth" + *x'* (cf. *pncm*, P 2, 1094, 1120). The restoration of [qn]δδ, on which the interpretation of *jymt̄* depends, is purely tentative; it is supported by *qnδ* in line 28, and by *'wrδ* in line 25.

⁶ The signification of this term is not clear. It may refer to a religious service for the souls of the departed, a Manichaean *Requiem*. An allusion to the "soul-work" (MPers. *rauwānagān*, Turk. *uzüllüg iş*), the alms and tithes given to the monks by the laymen, is hardly intended (notwithstanding the title of the official who collects the alms: *arwānagān aspasaq* = "soul-work servant"). In Sogdian those alms were called simply *δβ'r* "gifts", or else the Middle Persian (*δβ'r rw'ng'n*, T i D, R 5), or the Parthian word (*'rw'ng'n*, M 858^a 1) was employed.—The passage in *Mir.Man.*, iii, k 42, p. 883, where I wrongly restored [*rw*]'*ng'n*, should read as follows (from line 39 onwards: based on the MSS. M 390, M 459^c, and M 891^b): *kyrdwš b'rg 'škrywt'h 'bzftg fryhstwm 'mwst' c 'bjyru'ng'n oo nm'dyš pd dšbr 'dydg* (var. lect. *'dyšg*) *'w dwšmnyn 'bysprδ* (var. lect. *'byspord* ?) *bqpuhr 'byst'w'd c r'styft* (?) *pd p'db'rg cy d'd yhw'd'n wzybyy xwd'y 'w't' mwec prēt*. The strange looking last word probably means "he gave up, sacrificed".

.... Kūyūne steps forward, and there they have the
Kūyūne says: the sacred....

(*Second page*) purifying without delay he
dismounts, and there take place spilling of blood, killing of horses,
laceration of faces, and taking (= cutting off?) of ears (?). And
the lady Nan(a), accompanied by her women, walks on to the
bridge, they smash the vessels, loud they call out,¹ they weep, tear
(their garments),² pull out (their hairs), and throw themselves to
the ground. And fifthly, the (?) city which is called Žimat, there
.... an army. And the curse-....³ city

¹ Cf. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1942, 97 sq.

² Or (perhaps better) "lacerate (their faces, etc.)".

³ *mand-āyāryā* contains neither Buddh. "γ'r "paœ" (in Man. prob. "x'r)
nor "γ'r "food, meal" (in Man. 'x'r and 'h'r), cf. *BBB.*, p. 98. It is doubtful
whether the word is connected with *āyarte* "muddy, juicy, etc." (*Sogdica*, p. 30,
cf. Pers. *āyār*), or with Buddh. "γ'rt "indigestible" (P 8, 124, cf. Pashto *ayēr*,
Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, p. 9, Charpentier, *AO.*, vii, 181). Perhaps the most likely
candidate is the word "γ'r in M 134 i V 7: p' 'ynny jwndyy γryw mršpndy z'wr
oo wny zrw'βyyy npyyēn ['t]y xwrmz'βyyy z'tyy oo m[γwn']fcmδyy frn 'ty "γ'r s't
w'tδ'r'tyy [.]'n rw'n kyy cn γrβ β[r]ywr sdytyy mrts'r oo pr z'y pr sm'n wysprδ[yy
] s'yδ'tyy δyβ'tyy w(m)[t] = for the strength of the elements, this *viva anima* the
grandson of Zrwan and son of Khormazda (*Primus Homo*), the fortune (glory)
and *āyār* of the whole world, the life (? *jw'n* ?) and soul of all living beings, which
(= *viva anima*) since many myriads of years (= since the beginning of the world)
up to now has been scattered and dispersed (cf. *S.T.*, i, 75^{1a}, and *δ'δ* δβ'n, O³ 32)
everywhere on the earth and in the skies. Similar passages will be found in *Mir.Man.*,
iii, p. 871, n. 4. The Parthian text translated there runs as follows: *cy wzd 'st*
b'm 'wd frh [cy] hmg zmbwdyg bwēn 'wd 'c'r cy hrwyn gy'n'n 'wd d'md'd'n z'wr jywōr
br'zyēn 'wd hwcyhryft 'z kw z[ynnd] jywynd 'wd pr'wēt bwynd wys[p] jyw'ng. The
comparison of all passages indicates that Sogd. *āyār* corresponds either to Parth.
bām, Turk. *qūw* "splendour", or possibly to Parth. *bun ud āčār*, Turk. *töz yiltiz*
"root and basis". Thus *mand-āyāryā* may mean "lustrelessness", or "base-
lessness", or even "absence of moisture".

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Sogdian Tales

By W. B. HENNING

(PLATES I AND II)

THE rôle which the Manichæans played in the migration of tales and fables from East to West and West to East has received much attention in recent years,¹ but next to nothing has been published of the abundant Iranian material which was found in Chinese Turkestan. The present collection of Sogdian stories, taken (with the possible exception of text J) from Manichæan manuscripts, is meant to close this gap. These stories are also of some interest from the linguist's point of view. For while the Christian and Buddhist Sogdian texts are valuable merely as repositories of vocables, the Manichæan texts alone (apart from the few available Sogdian documents and letters) give us a clear idea of the true structure and syntax of the Sogdian language, and this quality is nowhere better apparent than in these stories, which are sometimes pleasingly vivid. Even the translated texts are written in good Sogdian, partly because the Manichæans were better translators than their Christian and Buddhist compatriots, partly because it was easier to translate from Middle Persian or Parthian, languages closely related to Sogdian, than from Syriac or Chinese. How different real Sogdian was from the miserable stammer of the Christian and Buddhist translators is shown at a glance by the Sogdian *Tale of Rustam*, of which we have a larger fragment now, thanks to the publication of the *Codices Sogdiani*, *Manuscripts de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (*Mission Pelliot*).²

A. The Pearl-borer³

Two manuscripts, one, T i T M 418, in Sogdian script (= S, printed in *italics* between the lines), the other, M 135, in Manichæan script (= M). The manuscripts represent slightly different recensions, but in the story itself the

¹ See especially W. Bang, *Le Muséon*, xliv, 1-36; cf. also *ZDMG.*, 90, 1 sqq., *BSOAS.*, XI, 52 sqq.

² Copenhagen, 1940. It is greatly to be regretted that M. Benveniste's edition of these MSS., which I understand was published in Paris in 1940, has not so far become available in this country. We have still to be content with the facsimile of the MSS. In his preface to the facsimile edition, p. xii, M. Benveniste said that *les deux morceaux* (of the *Tale of Rustam*) *ne se raccordent pas*. It seems to me that P 13 precedes the British Museum fragment without break, in this way: *c'n'kw 'yw rwstmy MN δ[w]r ZKw δyw 'sp'δ wyn ZKn ryšy m'yδ w'β "βr ZY βy' ['PZY] kβnw trs [w'n'kw] wn'ym kt'w δywt kw mry'.* Half of the word "βr is on P 13, the other half on the Br. Mus. fragment. — Of great interest is P 3 and its continuation, Br. Mus. fragm. iii. It becomes clear now that this text deals with the "rain-stone", Sogd. *ēδ-* (previously wrongly compared with Pers. *jadū* and Skt. *jala*, see *Sogdica*, 5) = Turk.-Mong.-Pers. *جده*, *ēdy-kr'y* = *جده* (cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Mong. Perse*, 428 sqq.; Juwaini, i, 152 note). In *γry'yh* (cf. Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, 50) we can now recognize Pers. *xargāh* "tent"; *mn'tšyr*, Frg. iii, 17, beside "sulphur", is Skt. *manahśilā* "realgar". — P 14 and P 15 contain a different version of the *Padmacintāmanāḍhāraṇī* (P 14, 1-15 = *Padm.* 40-52; P 15, 18 = *Padm.* 52 sqq.; P 15, 1-17, end of text on *mudrās* which begins in P 14, 16, but P 14 and P 15 did not belong to the same manuscript). No doubt these points have been made by M. Benveniste in his edition.

³ [restored], (damaged or uncertain) letters, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 56.

differences are on the whole purely orthographical, while in the allegorical explanation the divergence is greater; note that 'YKZY = *kδwtyh* in M 21, but = *kt* in M 36. — The manuscript M 135 consists of two consecutive double folios, i.e. two sets of four consecutive pages each. One set contains the "Pearl-borer", the other a text in the style of the *Kephalaia* (given below as B). This shows that the "Pearl-borer", too, formed part of a *kephalaion*, or in other words that it was supposed that Mani had narrated the story to his disciples. This is presumably a fiction (it is mostly so with the *kephalaia* literature, Coptic or Turkestanian), but not necessarily so. For the story is known only from Burzōi's preface to *Kalīla wa Dimna*, hence is quite likely Persian and not Indian by origin. Cf. Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, i, 78; *Kalīla wa Dimna*, 28–9, ed. de Sacy, p. 91, ed. Beirut, 1896; Keith-Falconer, 258–9, 311; W. Bang, loc. cit., 4–5. Differently from Burzōi, the Sogdian narrator told the story in the form of a lawsuit. It is noteworthy that of the two Panchatantra-Kalīla wa Dimna stories that so far have been traced in Sogdian (texts A and C), the one occurs in K.-w.D. but not in the Pañchatantra, the other only in the Pañchatantra. — According to *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1923, 146, F. W. K. Müller had prepared the publication of this tale; it is a matter for regret that he did not proceed with his intention.

Captions: A i R swmby 'zynd Story of [the Pearl-]borer.

A i V cn mry'rt

On the Pearl-borer.

B i R swmbyy

B i V "zyndyy

[The explanation] of the story.

(M 135, A i R) (1) ptjy'mc wβ' (2) 'rtyny^{sic} fršt'h (3) βwt oo 'rty pts'r (4) δβtyk myδ kw xtw (5) s'r pr xty'k šw'nd (6) oo 'rtxw xypδ'wnd (7) w'nw w'β kt βγ (8) mwnw mrt'y i myδ pr (9) C dyn'r zyrn ptxryt (10) δ'rm o w'nw 'tymyy (11) mry'rt swmbyy oo (12) 'rty tym 'ydc mry'rt (13) nyy swmbt o 'rtmy (14) qδryy prxyy

(T i T M 418, R) (1) (*weak*

xwjtt (15) skwn oo 'rtxw mr'z (16) mrtyy kw ^a xtw s'r (A i V) (17) w'nw traces) (2) mr'z kw 'γtw s'r (w'n')[kw

ptyškwy kt (18) βγ ywnyy fšy'ws (19) c'nw t'm' w'crn^b (20) ptyš(3)kw'y ktβγ ywn'k 'βšy'-ws (4) c'n'kw t'm'k ZKwy w'rcn'y (5)

kwsyy wyn o 'tymyy (21) w'nw ps' kδwtyh (22) cw 'rq γrβyy oo (23) kwsy wyn oo rtmy w'n'kw ps' (6) 'YKZY cw 'rkh γrβ(')[y^c oo] (7)

'rtšy 'zw w'nw (24) ptyškwy kt βγ wyspw (25) 'rk cw 'tymy tγw (26) rtšy 'zw w'n'kw ptyškw'y (8) [k](t) βγ wysph 'rkh cw [ZY] (9) (m)y tγw^d

^a MS. *xw*.

^b The S version seems preferable here: ZKwy (= *wyy* or *wy'*) is indispensable. Note the metathesis in *wārčan-* from *wāčarn*. The first to connect this word with Pers. *bāzār* and to refer to the -r of Arm. *vačar* was Bartholomae, *ZAiR.Wb.*, 105. See further *BBB.*, 136, and Hansen, *MPers. Papyri* . . . Berlin, 41.

^c Before this a word has been struck out.

^d After *tγw*, a malformed *p* (meant to be cancelled).

frm'y^e o 'rtys't (27) wyspw 'rk^f γrβ'm (28) 'tymy c'nw kw x'n' (29) s'r
 pr'm'y^e rty s't^g wys(p)[h ?] (10) γrβ'm oo rtmy c'n'kw kw γ'n'kh (11) s'r
 šykr oo 'rtmy (30) wyn' fr'm'y jtyy (31) oo 'rty βy'ryy prm (32) prw
 šykr rty my wyn'kh^h (12) pr'm'y z-yt'y oo rty βy'r'k prm (13) prw
 xypδ'wndy^h (B i R) (33) frm'n wyn' jyt(w) (34) δ'rm o 'rtšw xtw (35)
 γypδ'w'nty prm'nh wyn'k (14) z-ytw δ'r'm rtšw 'γtw
 w'nw pδk' nym'y (36) kt^h tγw wny mrty mr'z (37)
 w'n'[kw] (15) pδkh nym'y oo 'YKZY tγw ZKn (16) [m](r)ty mr'z
 ptxrytδ'ryy o 'rtšw (38) eqn'c pyδ'r (39) mry'r^h nyy frm'yⁱ (40)
 ptyr'yt δ'r'y rtβ (17) [ckn'](c)w pyδ'r mry'rt L' pr'(m) [yy] (V) (18)
 swβty o p'rtysy (41) xww wyn' jnyy frm't (42) δ'ryy o 'rty wny
 [swβt'k p'rZYšy ZK wyn'kh z-n'y] (19) [prm't δ'r'y oo rty (ZKn) (20)
 mrty (43) xww prxyy 'spty^h (44) δβrtty γwtk'm o 'rt (45) qδ' tym
 [mrty ZK] prγy 'spt'k δβ'rt'k (21) γwtk'm oo rtkδ tym
 'yδc mry'r^h (46) swmbcyq γw't (47) oo 'rty tym 'nyw o C (48)
 'yew h^j (22) [mr]γ'rt swmpcyk γw't rty (23) tym 'nyw C
 dyn'r zyrn δβr'ḥ (B i V) (49) 'rtfy pts'r (50) 'nyw myδ mry'r^h (51)
 dyn'r z-yrn δβr' (24) [p](t)s'r 'nyw myδ
 swmbtk'm o 'rty (52) xww mry'rty xypδ'wnd (53) m'yδ pwskfty ww
 swmpt k'm (25) [rt]y ZK mry'rtyh γypδ'w'nt (26) [ZK]h
 C (54) dyn'r zyrn twj o 'rtšw^k (55) mry'r^h n' swβt kw (56)
 C dyn'r z-yrn tw'z r(t)[y] (27) (šy) ZK mry'rt n' swβt (kw) (28)
 'nyw myδ s'r yxnyy (57) p'rxs oo 'rty xwttyy (58) kww šf'r 'ty
 'nyw myδ s'r y'γyn'k p'r[γs] (29) oo rty γuty kw 'šβ'r ZY
 kww (59) nm'nyy pr'γt oo oo (60) 'rty x' γrβ'kt w'nw (61) xwyec'wy
 kw (nm) ['n'k] (30) pr''γt oo
 δβr'nd kt (62) xwnyy mrtyy kyy wyspw (63) γnyy 'ty qrnw'ncy' (64) γrβ'skwn
 ZK mry'rt swmp'(k)
 oo xwtty xcy

^e Mistake for *pr'm'yy*.

^f There is a gap above *wysp* in S, where *'rk*h may have been written above the line. However, its presence makes the phrase a little awkward.

^g Written above the line.

^h A letter or two struck out after this.

ⁱ Mistake for *fr'm'yy*.

^j To fill the line.

^k *'rtšw* = *rtysyZK*: possibly *-šw* is not merely the accusative of the pronoun (the statement in *BBB.*, 104, is certainly too sweeping), but also a contracted form, *-š-* + *'w* (*ww*)? In this passage *-šw* clearly means "of him the", as the text of S suggests. Similarly, above in *M* 34 = *S* 14, *'rtšw* (*rtšw*) seems to mean: "for it the."

- (31) (γw)ty¹ ZK tnp'r γcy oo ZY C δyn'r (32) [.]^m C srδ'k 'zw'nḥ
 (33) γcy oo ZY mry'rtyh γypδ'w'nt (34) ZK rw'n ZY ZKh mry'rt sw[. . .]ⁿ
 (35)[Z]K šyr'krtyh γcy oo c.[

Translation¹

. . . . there was a quarrel, it could not be settled.² So on the next day they went before a judge for a trial.³ The owner (viz. of the pearls) spoke thus: my lord, I hired this man for one day, at a hundred gold dēnārs, that he should bore my pearls.⁴ He has not bored any pearls, but now demands his wages⁵ from me.

The workman,⁶ in rebuttal, addressed the judge thus: my lord, when this gentleman⁷ saw me at the side of the bazaar, he asked me: "Hey, what work can you do?" I replied: "Sir, whatever work you may order me (to do), I can do it all." When he had taken me to his house, he ordered me to play on the lute.⁸ Until nightfall I played on the lute at the owner's bidding.

The judge pronounced this verdict: You hired this man to do work⁹ (for you), so why did you not order him to bore the¹⁰ pearls? Why did you bid him play on the lute instead? The man's wages will have to be paid in full. If again there should be any pearls to be bored, give him another hundred gold dēnārs, and he shall then bore your pearls on another day.

¹ Very uncertain; possibly also (mr)ty.

^m Restore: [γwty ZKh]? Or [zyrn ZK]?

ⁿ Presumably an infinitive, sw[β't'k]?

¹ Of M. Variants in S will be found in the annotations. At the end, both versions of the allegorical explanation are translated separately.

² Cf. BBB., p. 98. Probably *farašt-* from *fra* + *raz-*.

³ *xyt'y'k*, *'xyt'y'k*, *'xyt'y'q* (BBB., p. 104; *Sogdica*, p. 53 and *Errata*) "trial, judgment" is derived from *xtw* ('γtw) "judge". It would be tempting to connect this word with Av. *ratu-*², but it is difficult to account for the χ (*ratú* > *rtú* > *γtu* > *xtu*? For uvular *r* in the place of lingual *r* see Gershevitch, *Gramm. Man. Sogd.*, para. 469. Cf. also the ubiquitous *k'γδ* "paper", which some scholars [Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 55] derive from χάπρης). Av. *ratu*¹ is *rt(t)w* in Sogdian. Differentiation?

⁴ Other words for "pearl" in Sogdian are: *mwž'kk* Dhyāna 45 (cf. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, 218) and *mwrβnt* (P 2, 981, *rtny* ZY *mwrβnt*). The latter, which also occurs in Uigur Turkish (e.g. Müller, *Uigurica*, iii, 15), may be a Western Iranian word, with *mūr-* from *muh-*. Hence, *mwž'kk* probably from *muδr-*. Cf. Parthian "*muhryōn*" (? = *muhrg'n*) Bang-Gabain, *Türk. Turfan-texte*, ii, 423 = *yinčülüg* "pearl-". Also Persian *muhre* "glass-bead" (etc.) may belong here (Pahl. *muhrak*, Man. MPers. *muhrg*). So also Saka *mrāha* "pearl", which Bailey has explained differently (*BSOS.*, IX, 73).

⁵ = Arab. *uḡrah*. Cf. *S.T.*, ii, 592a, and Persian *barχai* (not *barχī*, cf. Bustan, ed. Graf, iii, 99), see Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 515, n. 1.

⁶ Or "hireling". In Arabic *šāni'* and *aḡir*. Cf. *Orientalia*, viii, 89, n. 2.

⁷ Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 311, 429. In the Arabic version the possessor of the pearls is a "merchant" (*tāḡir*).

⁸ In Arabic *šanʿ*.

⁹ Lit. "you hired this man as a workman". The translation of this passage in BBB., p. 67, is incorrect; *mr'z* does not mean "work". Also Chr. *mr'z šw-* literally "to go as a labourer".

¹⁰ In S: "order to bore your."

Thus under constraint,¹ the owner of the pearls paid the hundred gold dēnārs, his pearls remained unbored,² left³ for another day, and he himself was filled with shame and contrition.

(M) The wise give this allegorical explanation: that man who understood all arts and crafts,⁴ represents [the body]. . . .

(S) The pearl-borer is the body. The hundred [gold] dēnārs represents a life of a hundred years. The owner of the pearls is the soul, and the boring (?) of the pearls represents piety.

B. The remainder of M 135

Captions: B ii R j[
 B ii V [
 A ii R myδδ iii pty'p βxšy
 A ii V myy[δδ pr] 'δryy

(B ii R) (1) xwtyy [(2) t[]'δyy prw (3) šyr'kt[ty]' (4) oo 'rty xwnx xcyh
 (5)^a '(r)t['] [w] δ[yn]δ'ryy kyy (6) γrβ '[y]δ[y]tyh cn (7) tm' zrync[ty] o 'ty
 kww (8) wšt[m]xs'r (9) r'δδt'k βwt oo 'rty (10) kδδryy šm'x nγwš'kt (11)
 s'r frm'ym w'nw (12) 'tyfn cn t'w 'ty (13) z'wr β'tk'm r'mnd (14) 'ndwxsδ'
 pr xypδδ (15) rw'nyy frtyr' o 'ty (16) mn' frm'n o 'ty (B ii V) (17) pr []'šy'h
 (18) δ'rδ' oo 't[y] mw[nw] (19) wyzryy r'δδ 'tyy (20) rštyy q'rpδ kyy (21)
 šm'x ('n)š[t]('t)δ'rm^b (22) cw 'ty xwtyh xcy (23) 'zprt δyyn oo 'rtyy (24)
 pr xyδ q'rpδδ (25) 'ndwxsδ' w'nw (26) 'ty mn' pryw kww (27) 'ykw[nc]yq^c
 jw'n (28) pryysδ' oo wyδp'ty (29) sγtm'n nγwš'kt (30) šyr wyγwšnd o 'ty (31)
 xwsnd 'kt'nd prw (32) βγ'nyk wy'βrttyy (A ii R) (33) 'ty pw 'ry frm'n (34)
 cw cn fryšty βγy (35) mrym'ny ptywštδ'rnd (36) 'rty j'm nm'c (37) βrtδ'rnd
 o 'tyh (38) 'βzwn ptycxšnd

(One line left blank)

(39) (In red ink) myyδδ pr iii pty'p βxšy (40) 'rty tym fryštyy (41) βγy
 m'rym'ny^{stc} (42) m'yδδ frm'tδ'rt (43) oo kt wnyy γrβ'k 'ty (44) fryyrw'n

¹ These words are omitted in S. The meaning of *pwskfty* seems to approach that of Persian *nāčār*. Cf. *BBB.*, p. 83.

² In the Arabic version: *wa-baqiya jauharuhu yaira maθqūlīn*.

³ *yxnyy* = Persian and Turkish *yaχnī*. The proper meaning of *yaχnī*, as the Sogdian passage clearly shows, is "left over and put aside" (cf. *Kanz ul-luḡah* under *bī'rah*: *yaχnī ya'nī čizi ke ānrā pas-afgan karde bāšī va-ja'ī nihāde*). In Persian (and Turkish) the word is then restricted to the meaning of "left-overs" of food, and finally to that of "boiled meat". — If *yaχnī* is originally Sogdian, it may provide an explanation for the name of the twelfth Old Persian month, *Viyazna-* (*v(i)ya-* may become *ya-* in Sogdian). By the way, Persian *gunjīdan*, with *gunj-* presumably from *winč-*, may belong to Skt. *vyac-* (although there is no nasal class present in Skt.). The meaning of *vyac-*, as given by Böhtlingk and Roth (*in sich fassen, aufnehmen*), is precisely that of *gunjīdan*.

⁴ Cf. *BBB.*, pp. 69 sq. On *Vim.* 123 see now Weller, *Soghd. Vim.*, 46 (*γn-* = Skt. *śilpa*; *krnw'nc-* = Skt. *kalā*).

^a Reading of this line rather uncertain.

^b Doubtful; apparently]yδ'rm.

^c MS. "wkw[.

"δyy myyδ (45) prw iii pty'p βxšy (46) γwt oo i prw xwt'wt (47) 'xš'wnδ'rtyh (A ii V) (48) 'sp's w'nw 'ty (49) 'xwšndyy skwynd (50) frn nyy "zyry o 'ty (51) zβnd 'nfr'sy nyy (52) qwnynd oo δβtyq (53) pty'p pr ktyβryk (54) 'rk 'ndwxssy prw (55) 'kštyy pr'qndyy (56) β'γ ptrk'n xryc (57) 'ty pr'δn w'nw 'ty (58) x'n' jy't' wβyy oo (59) 'tyh wδw "jwnd (60) βj'wq nyy wβynd (61) oo 'ty ms pnd fryy (62) šyrxwzyy "dyh (63) 'spxšt' wβyy oo

. . . (4) That one is a Righteous Dēndār who saves many people from Hell, and sets them on the way to Paradise. And now I command you, Hearers, that so long as there is strength in your bodies, you should strive for the salvation of your souls. Bear in mind my orders and [my words], that Straight Path and True Mould¹ which I have shown to you, viz. the Sacred Religion. Strive through that Mould so that you will join me in the eternal life.

Thereupon all the Hearers became very joyful and happy on account of the divine words and priceless orders which they had heard from the Apostle, the Lord Mār Mani. They paid exquisite homage, and received the . . .²

To divide the day into three parts

And again the Apostle, the Lord Mār Mani spoke thus: The wise and soul-loving³ person should divide the day into three parts. The first (part should be devoted) to the service of kings and lords so that they be well content,⁴ that their majesty be not infringed, and that they do not start quarrelling⁵ and scheming. The second to the pursuit of worldly affairs, to tilling and sowing, to allotments and hereditaments, to buying and selling,⁶ so that the house be maintained, that wife and children be not in distress, and that kinsmen, friends, and wellwishers can be well served. . . .⁷

¹ *kārpaδ*, the true Sogdian representative of *καλονόδιον*, confused by Reichelt with Sogd. (')*kyδrpw(h)*, *SCE.*, 60; *Vim.*, 108, in both passages = 形 "contour, form, shape". Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 506 sqq., while pointing out Reichelt's error, proposed another explanation which is still less likely to be correct: (')*kyδrp-* should equal Avestan *kəhrp-*. There are two obstacles to the suggested derivation. Firstly, Sogdian *-δr-* (when not = actual *θr* or *δr*) is historical (or inverse) spelling for spoken *š* (or *ž*); *kyδrp-*, therefore, was pronounced *kišp-* (or *kišb*, or *kižb*). Secondly, the Avestan *-hr-* groups with unetymological *h* appear in Sogdian *always* as *-r-* (see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, paras. 139, 141); hence, Avestan *kəhrp-* should be *kīrp-* in Sogdian (cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 6). It would thus be better to derive *kyδrp-* = *kišp-* or *kišb-* from OIr. *kršv-* and compare Sogd. *-kišp-* from *kršvar/n-* (Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 147), and 'kyšpy P 2, 636 = 種 = *sambhava* (Parth. *kišfān*). The assumed semantic development (line, circle > contour > form, shape) is supported by Sogd. *kršn* "form, beautiful form", which belongs to the same base (*karš* "to draw furrows, lines, circles").

² 'βzn- is "garlic" (P 2, 600, 608, 665, 889; cf. Yidgha *wēznu*, Pashto *ūža*, Parachi *bīn*, from *brzn-*?). *βznu* is "shame". But what is 'βznu? One would expect a word meaning something like *κεφαλονία*, cf. *Kephalaia*, 37 sqq. Possibly *əβzn-* < *βrzn-* from the root of 'nβrz- [see now *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, 117 sq.].

³ I.e. auditor. Cf. *BBB.*, p. 77, n. 3, and Turkish *üzütingü amraq* (*Türk. Man.*, iii, 41, 42).

⁴ Contrary to my suggestion in *BSOS.*, VIII, 585, n. 2, 'xwšndyy may belong to the base *xšnū-* "to satisfy" (*xšnūtaka-* > *xšūnte* > *xšūnde* > *xwšnde*). It thus would be the past participle to 'xšn'w-.

⁵ Differently *BBB.*, pp. 67 sq.

⁶ Cf. *BBB.*, p. 71; *BSOS.*, IX, p. 84.

⁷ The third part of the day, of course, was to be devoted to the care of the Manichæan monks!

C. The Three Fishes

From M 127, late and cursive Manichaean script. This Sogdian version is very concise. There were two such stories in the Panchatantra. In one of them the foolish fish is killed (1st book, 14th story; Benfey, i, 241 sqq.; ii, 91 sqq.), in the other the two intelligent fishes are caught but the fool is saved (5th book, 6th story; Benfey, i, 242; ii, 337 sq.). The first form of the story was included by the Pahlavi translator (cf. *Katīla wa Dimna*, ed. Sacy, pp. 107 sq.; Keith-Falconer, 31; also *Mathnawī*, iv, 2205, ed. Nicholson, see commentary), but not the second, which Benfey judged to be “undoubtedly a late addition”. The Sogdian agrees with the second form. The names in Skt. are *sahasrabuddhi*, *śatabuddhi*, and *ekabuddhi* (the last is said to be a frog).

M 127 R 8–14

(8) oo i mzyx '[wz[y]y wm't (9) '(t)yy wδyy c[y]ndr iii kp[yš]t wm't('nd) i kpyyš¹ 'yw (10) šm'r'yy^{slc} oo δβtyk k(pyy) C šm'ryy^{slc} o 'ty štyq (11) kpyy z'r šm'rynyy^{slc} wm't oo 'rtyy wšp't kpny'sy (12) w'yw(k) [i '](γ)t 'ty δ'm' pš't δ'rt oo 'tyy xwnyy δw' (13) γrf šm'rynyt kpyštyy ny'tδ'rt o 'ty xwnyy 'yw (14) šm'ryy^{slc} kpyy nyy ny't δ'rt oo

There was a big pond,² and in it there were three fishes. The first fish was One-Thought, the second fish was Hundred-Thoughts, and the third fish was Thousand-Thoughts. At some time³ a fisherman⁴ came and cast his net. He caught those two fishes of many thoughts, but he did not catch the fish One-Thought.

D. The Merchant and the Spirit (Plate 1)

Very badly preserved fragment. The lines are incomplete and the writing is faded and often illegible. Nevertheless, the trend of the story is clear. Cf. *Judges*, 11 (Jephthah's daughter), and the story of Idomeneus (*Servius in*

¹ Mistake for *kpyy*.

² Or “lake”. See *Sogdica*, p. 51, and *Addenda* (with reference to Minorsky, *Hūdūd*, 56, 195). Cf. also “w'zh “lake” P 9, 30.

³ The meaning of *wšp't* (clearly containing -p't “*casus*”) is not known. For an explanation from Av. *oiθra* see Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 299. Note that the Avestan word is spelt *oiθra* in the *Frahang-i Oīm* (and not *oiθra*), and that the Pahlavi rendering is *yutākīhā apāk* (and not merely *yutākīhā*). — I take this opportunity to correct the reading of *Frahang-i Oīm*, iii, g, 5, where *čīkaḡazauatō* should be replaced by *čīkaḡadauatō* (cf. Reichelt's preface, p. 3, on the letters -z- and -δ-); this is a bad spelling of **čīkaḡadavatō* “of that which has an elbow, or forearm”. The Pahlavi translation gives 'lšnēnd (M 6) or čnd 'lšn (K 20) = “as much as an ell (elbow)”; possibly the original spelling was **lšnyčwmd* = *arašničwmd* (cf. B. Geiger, *WZKM.*, 42, 119). From Av. *čīkaḡaḡa-* we have Pashto *cangal* “elbow, forearm”, cf. also Saka *tcamgalai* (Bailey, *BSOAS.*, XI, 5) and Brahui *čangulī* “elbow”.

⁴ Lit. “a fish-catching hunter” (cf. *kpyy's'k mrtty* in Θ¹ and Frg. iia). *w'yywk* = MPers. and Parth. *w'yywg* “hunter” (cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 2). Cf. M 523a, 9 sqq. ‘yw w'yywg bu[d] ws murg'n '[d] d'm[g] [g]ryft 'hynd o 'ws ws zng [d]'mg 'wd wbdng dyrd o u xwz '[n]xšdyg 'wd bzkr bwd “There was a hunter, he had caught many birds in his nets. He possessed many kinds of nets and snares (cf. Sogd. *wβ'ntk* ‘snare’ P 2, 273, ‘web’ *DN.*, 24). He was very merciless and wicked”. M 572, 25 *w'yywg 'ws gwrg 'yw gryft* “. . . . the hunter, he had caught a wolf”. Cf. also Saka *byaha*, etc. (Bailey, *BSOAS.*, X, 573), Yidgha *waina* (Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 262), Osset. *vain* (Hübschmann, *Etym. Oss.*, p. 30), beside Av. *vō(y)-*.

Virgil. Aen., iii, 121: *Idomeneus . . . in tempestate devovit sacrificaturum se de re quae ei primum occurrisset. Contigit ut filius eius primus occurreret . . .*), *Beauty and the Beast*, etc.—Manichæan script.

T ii D 66

(*Recto*) (1–2 *orange ink*) (1) [. . .]δβ(z)ʼt^a nγʼδʼ βrʼ (2) [ʼty] wystʼw wystʼ[w] (3) x(yδ) zwrnyy ʼncʼyʼt ʼt[y] (4) (mʼx) zrxsym oo ʼrt[y] (5) kww ʼβtʼmyδpr[m] (6) (wy)δβz ʼty nwy[.] (7) wystʼw kwnʼ ʼt[y] (8)c nyy nm(ʼ) (9)t oo ʼrty xwʼq(r) (10) [ktmyy pr (11)]r ʼty xʼn(ʼ) (12) (mzyx) (wyδʼ)β ʼty rytry[ʼ] (13)cyk ʼsty o ʼ(r)[ty] (14)ʼwʼt oo ʼtyh (15) (xwʼ)[qr kw] wʼxšyk ʼt[y] (16) (cyt)[yy sʼ]r wʼnw (17) (wystʼw) kwndʼ oo kt (18) (cʼnw) wβʼt ʼty cymyδ (19) smwtr(ʼ)^b pww wyδʼ(β) (20–1 *orange ink*) (20) [.p]tsʼr [(21) . . . (*Verso*) (22) ʼtyš[w] ʼ[ʼs]mkʼm [ʼty] (23) [δy]myδ s[m](w)[t](r)yk c(y)[ty] (24) [p]wšy kwnʼm oo ʼrtyh (25) cʼnw viiimyδ myδyy mwnw (26)[w]ystʼw kwnʼ oo ptsʼr (27) xyδ ywnyδ zwrnyy ʼty (28) pcʼwʼ mncʼy oo (ʼrty) (29) xwʼqr δn zʼtyy (ʼtyh) (30) tʼwndyy γznyy γr[ʼ]m[yy] (31) ʼpryw p[ww wyδʼβ] (kww) (32) [z]mb sʼr nyjyy oo (ʼrty) (33) mʼγʼz šmʼrʼk(yn) ^c (xrt) ? (34) [pʼ](δy) ʼndwxenʼk (ʼwštʼt) (35) kt cʼnw wβʼtkʼm (prw) ? (36) wystʼw ky kδʼrm oo (37) δβʼt cʼ(nw) (xʼnʼ) (sʼr) (38) [p](nd) ^d βʼwn ʼrtymyδ δ(wγt)[ʼ] (39) pcpʼt pyrm [ptycy] (40) ʼysʼt oo ʼrty (cʼnw) (41) [. . . .]k sʼr pnd [βʼwn] (42) [pt]sʼr (γryw) ? (qncyk) ? ^e

“ . . . pray and swear the oath, the very moment it will calm down and we shall be saved.” For a full week . . . [he pressed ¹ him], “take the oath,” but . . . he did not lend himself [to it]. The merchant [thought], “great injury and decline is [threatening] my . . . house,” and [gave in]. Before the spirit and demon the merchant took this oath: “If it be that [we escape] without injury from this ocean, then I shall take it and offer ² it to the spirit of the sea.” When on the eighth day he had taken this oath, at once that very moment the turmoil ceased, and the merchant with his son and huge treasure and wealth came out on the shore in safety. But he began to walk deep in thought, to stand still anxiously, (thinking) “How will it be with the oath I took ? Perhaps when I approach my house, this time my daughter will come as the first to meet me ? But if I approach the . . . , then the . . . girl(?) [will meet me first]. . . .

^a Possibly [wy]δβzʼt, cf. line 6. Meaning unknown. Possible connections: Sogd. *nyδβʼyz-*, *Sogdica*, p. 32; Sogd. δβz “hunger”; Av. *θwqz-* (?); Av. *dəbqz-* (cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, *BSOS.*, IX, 864 sq.; the assumption that the *élément adventice qui figure notamment dans av. tkaēša-* could occur in Sogdian and other later dialects, is strange).

^b Or *smwtr(yy)* ?

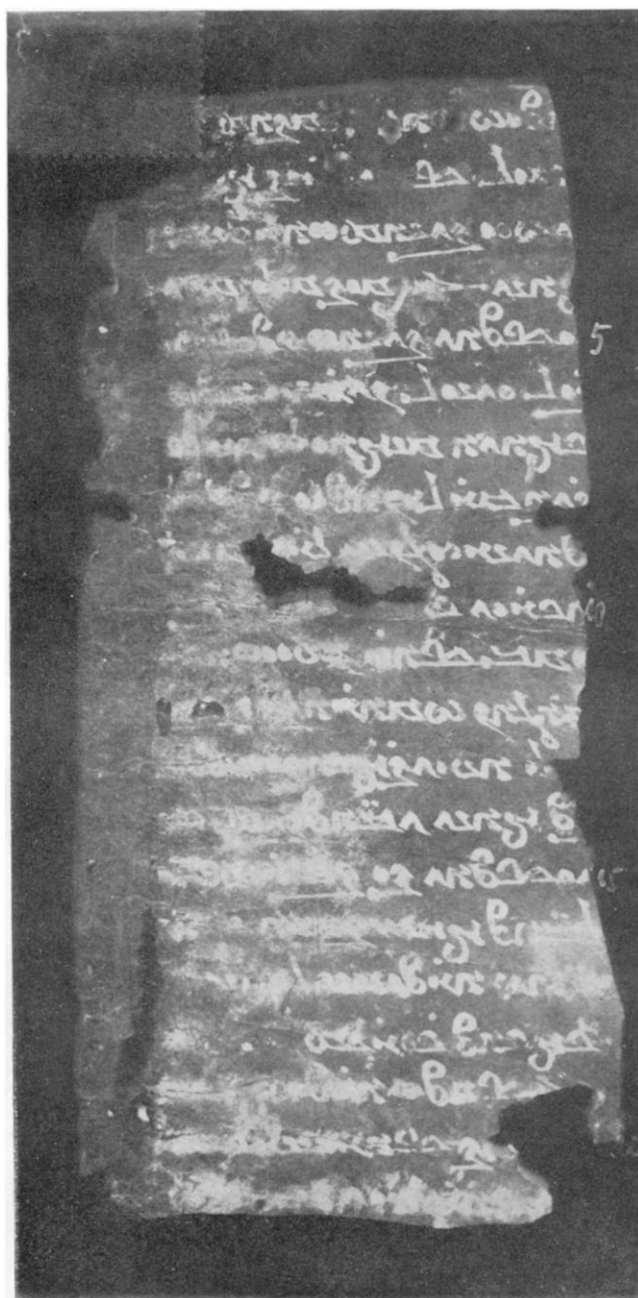
^c *šmʼrʼk-* is certain, but cf. *šmʼrykyn* below, E 24.

^d [p]nd (very faint) added at the margin.

^e The whole line is one long blur. *qncyk* is merely a guess (cf. *BBB.*, 101). What *γryw* (if that is the correct reading) could mean here is not clear.

¹ *nwy* possibly from *nwyδ-*, and *wyδβz* from Av. *θwqz-* ?

² I have restored *wšy* to [p]wšy = Uyğur Turkish *puşı* “alms, offering”. However, this originally Chinese word has not been noticed in any Sogdian text so far.



p. 472]

THE MERCHANT AND THE SPIRIT.
(Verso page.)

[nat. size.

E. Βαλίστανον ὄρος

Two pieces of a folio, respectively its upper and lower end. The central part is missing. Manichæan script.

T ii D 117

Captions: *Recto* *mrtxmyy* "znd The Story of the [Magian ?] man.

Verso *cn* 'sp'sygh On Service

(*Recto*) (1) m'yδ wyyšn jwyty' myδ'nyyh (2) "wrt nwrtyy šwt o 'rty pyšt (3) r'mndyy xypδ šyδ'rt o 'rty xw (4) rw'(nm)yc frtry' nyy "yfšt o (5) 'rty γyrt r wny βγγyšt t'yyh (6) mrδ'spnd 'ty pwtystyy pyrnm (7) s'r m'yδ γwβ(t)[y] 'ty šyrn'my (8) βwt o c'nw xw(n)[yy] xwt'w wny (9) xypδ n'fyy m[yδ'nyy γw]βtyy 'ty (10) [. . .]^a (w)yδ'β wy(n)[.](t)y oo mwγ[. . .]^b (*The following line was apparently left blank; after it a lacuna of undetermined extent*) (11) jw'n[w (12) trny(')] (13) fryyt't' t[y (14) βwrt'rmy(k)[y] (15) 'ty jyn'[. . .]t[(16) rtšyms [t](y)m k[(17) m'nwq xwp 'ty .n[(18) o o c'nw 'ty "(19) qδwty pr ny'wr jm(n)[w (20) r'mnd y'βyy 'ty [. . .]zt[c (21) βyyjyβ'r'n šw'zskwn [. . . .]. i (22) myδδ ms kw y'βy[y] (cn) δβr'h (23) jyw trytz'y y 'ty wx'(s)cn šyyr (24) 'ndwxcn'k 'ty šm'rykyn šw' (25) zskwn o 'rty pep'tyy cn βry'h (26) c'δrs'r wxr ptyγwš jyγyr 'tšyy (*Verso*) (27) w'nw w'β mrt'y przr 'tymyy (28) jyw d z'ryysyyskwn o pyšt šwnyy tw' (29) wyneyk βjyy m't 'rtfyy xw n' (30) wyyt nyy pey'yq'm 'rtkδ' kδryy (31) mn' w'xš nywšyy 'rtfyy w'nw jn' (32) βyndmq'm 'ty i jw'nyy šyrβ'r'n (33) wβyk'm o 'rt[xw] mrt'y(h)^e 'skyy kw (34) kywyδ wnx[r s'r w']nw ps' tyww (35) 'tyβy' ky ['yš 'lty t'm'h w'nw (36) [z](')ryysy(y)[skwn o 'rt](y)šyy cn '(s)[kyy] (37) [c'δr]s'[r w'nw p'](tc)γ(n)[yy kwn'] (*A lacuna of undetermined extent*) (38) ')(s)k[y] qyr'ns'r (39)] i mzyyx γrw (40) jryyy pδ'mnyh (41)] βγγy[s]t'n 'styy (42) δjwyδ βγn's^c cyndr (43)[γrf ? βγγyšt] 'skwnd ky 'ty wy'βrny (44) [xnd pyšt ? cn 'j'p'syy kβny škwrδtrt (45) [xnd 'rtms ? pr] γryy "wzryy 'skyy (46) [. ty](m) 'nyw ii βγnyy 'sty i (47) zyr(ny)[nyy 'ty δ]βtyk n'ktynyy xeyy o (48) 'rty dywy[δ δ]yβnw βγny' cyndr cw (49) βγγyšt 'skwnd s't wysprtnyny (50) xnd pyšt mrtxmytyy pryw nyy j'ynd (51) 'rty qt'm "δyy (')ww rwδnyt βγγyšt (52) ky 'ty wy' βγny' 'skwnd 'xšwndyy

. . . so he goes to and fro amidst those cruel ones, but always keeps his consciousness so that his spiritual welfare is not perverted. And later on, before the gods, elements, and Buddhas (apostles),¹ he is honoured and cheered

^a Restore [pr] or [pw].

^b mwγ[nc] or mwγ[ny] "Magian" ? Apparently subscription to the text ending in line 10 to which the caption of the *Recto* page refers. It can thus be restored to mwγ[ny ?] mrtxmyy "znd. The caption of the *Verso* page (which was continued on the *Recto* page of the subsequent folio) gives the title of the story of lines 11–52, cf. line 44.

^c Restore [']zt[yy] "free", or [']zt[yw] "exiled" ?

^d Added above the line.

^e (h) written over (or under ?) (kw), i.e. "read mrtyh instead of mrt y kw" or vice versa.

¹ I.e. after his death.

in the same way as the . . . king is honoured amidst his people and . . . danger visible . . . Magian (?).

. . . submissiveness . . . charity, [faith, perfection], patience, [and wisdom] . . . body¹ . . . and also his . . . is good like . . . As at other times he always used to go roving² and . . . in an unhappy frame of mind, so one day, too, he went out of the door for a ramble, very depressed and troubled, in great anxiety and deep in thought.³ This time he heard a voice coming down from the air. It called him and spoke thus to him: "Man, I feel so very great pity for you. However, in your walk of life that which was visible to you, was evil, so might not the unseen help you?⁴ If you will listen to my words now, I shall imbue you with such knowledge that you shall be happy for your whole⁵ life." The man (looking) upwards to that voice asked thus: "You, my lord, who are you that you feel such pity for me?" From above the voice replied thus to him,

. . . northwards⁶ . . . a great mountain . . . on the skirts of the mountain there is a . . . place of the gods (*Bayistān*). In the temple there are many gods who are endowed with speech, but they are rather difficult to serve . . . on the flanks (?) of the mountain, upwards, . . . there are another two temples, one of gold, the other of silver. What gods there are in both those temples, they are set with all kinds of jewels, but they do not talk with men. Whoever satisfies the brazen gods who are in the temples⁷ . . .

F. The Monkey and the Fox

Slightly damaged folio, cursive Sogdian script. An Æsopian fable, Koraïs, 29, Chambry, 38. An Uyğur fragment of the *Yosipas* (Æsop) book was published by LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 33. Beginning of the story in Greek (*recogn.* C. Halm, Lipsiæ, 1884, p. 22): 'Εν συνόδῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων πίθηκος ὀρχησάμενος καὶ εὐδοκμήσας βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐχειροτονήθη· ἀλώπηξ δὲ αὐτῷ φθονήσασα ὡς ἐθεάσατο ἔν τινι παγίδι κρέας κείμενον, ἀγαγοῦσα αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἔλεγεν, ὡς εὐροῦσα θησαυρὸν αὐτῇ μὲν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο, γέρας δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας τετήρηκε, καὶ παρήνει αὐτῷ λαβεῖν. Τοῦ δὲ ἀτημελήτως ἐπελθόντος κτλ.

T i

(R)(1) ky 'sty ky nwry m'γ[w cwpr] (2) γωβω pc'y-tk'm o rty [cnn] (3) c'β' prtr "δy L' β(w)[t] (4) ZY kdry sytm'n nγsyr[t] (5) ZKn tw' prny γωβω ryz-(k)[ry]^a (6) ptysynt'nt [o] [rt](β)y kdryh (7) γωβω kwncykw^b 'sk[w]'nt [o] p'rZ-Y (8) ZKn tw' prny [ny]my CWRH (9) ZKn mrtγm'kty^c s'r mynt

¹ Cf. below, p. 484, n. 3.

² Or "for a drive"? Cf. *BSOS.*, X, 102, n. 3.

³ See *BBB.*, p. 60 (on 510).

⁴ The translation is conjectural.

⁵ Lit. "one". Cf. MPers. *pd yk 'wx* M 731 V 9 (*HR.*, ii, 33).

⁶ Hardly = "upwards" here.

⁷ See *BSOS.*, VIII, 584 sq. On 'xšwndyy/'xwšndyy see above, p. 470, n. 4.

For notes ^a ^b ^c see p. 475.

(10) skwn ZY nymy ZKn nšyryh (11) mynt o ZY kδry 'z-γrt šwy-m (12) ZY prw γw'δk^a prš'y-δ o ZY pr (13) nš'y-rty cwpr γwβw myn o ZY (14) ZKh γyry mkr' m'γz ZY ZKn (15) rwpsy nβ'nt γyr o c'nk'w 'γw (V)(16) [. . . .] s'r pnt β'w'nt o (17)[rwpsy] 'z-yw'rt ZY ZKn (18) [mkr]' s'r m'y-δ w'β kt (19) [. . .]n^e šyry ZY-'mn ryty (20) ['']γt ZY šyry pty-cyh ktyš (21) o 'mprty [. . .]k^f ptšt'n (22) L' [. . .]y^g skwn yw'r ZKn (23) tw'prny [s']t βγty ZY pcp'n (24) sβry-t'kw γcy o 'YKZ-Y γwβwy' (25) šyr'kw γwry-k'm o cywyδ (26) pyδ'r kt tγw kšy šγy'k (27) kwn' 'yny ptšt'n pr (28) δst' ny's o rtyh γyry (29) mkr' mwnw w'γš pty-γwš (30) cpδ' šyr 'γws'nt 'krty

" Who will now be the right king for us ? There is none better than you ! All animals have approved Your Excellency¹ as absolute king and are at the point of declaring² you king. For Your Excellency's body is half like a man's, and half like an animal's. Let us now go quickly, and you shall seat yourself on the throne and be king over the animals."

The foolish monkey got up and went along with the fox. When they approached the [trap ?], the [fox] turned back and spoke thus to the [monkey] : " Good . . . has come before us and you have been placed before a good thing. Filled . . . you would not . . . the frame (?),³ but it is all presented and ready⁴ prepared for Your Excellency so that you shall eat well like a king.⁵ So if you will now take the trouble,⁶ take this frame (?) into your hands."

The foolish monkey heard these words, at once⁷ he became very glad. . . .

^a There is hardly enough space for the abstract noun (*ryžkry'kh* : P 6, 164). *ZKn tw' prny* can be accusative as well as genitive-dative. *rēžkare* (= Persian *kāmgar*) is probably appositional to *γwβw*, cf. P 2, 1144 sq. : 'PZY wntn 'γšywn'k 'krtyw ryzkr'k. Cf. also *ryzkr Vim.*, 191. — One can scarcely read *ryz-(y)l'n* (as in VJ. 1140).

^b MS. apparently *kwncyrw*, but several times in this manuscript one can hardly distinguish *-kw* from *-rw*.

^c MS. *mrty'm'ky-t*.

^d = γ'δwk. Mistake or genuine form ?

^e Or [. . .]. Three or four letters missing. [*ZYβ*]n ?

^f Possibly [*γw*]n'k ? But the third letter looks rather like *-s-*. Hence, [*'p*]s'k ? [*'β*]s'k ?

^g [*k*](w)n)y ? [*w*](β')y ? [*γ*](w')y ?

¹ *farn-* is freely used in Sogdian texts as a polite form of address, especially to dignitaries of the Manichæan church.

² Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 1018.

³ The meaning of *ptšt'n* is unfortunately not known. It is connected with *ptšty-* "to prop, lean" (*Dhyāna* 25, cf. Weller), cf. also *ptšt't-* "to withstand" (*BBB.*, p. 104 and P 8, 136). I am assuming that the trap itself is meant here, but the possibility that the word refers to the piece of meat in the trap cannot be excluded. In that case *ptšt'n* may have the same meaning as Av. *paitištāna-* ("leg").

⁴ Cf. *S.T.*, i, 50, 5 ; 87, 20 ; P 7, 66 ; Anc. Letters *pcp'y-* "to be ready for" (the preceding word in Reichelt's glossary, *pcks-* is "to wait, expect", cf. *S.T.*, i, 39, 3 ; "if I shall lead you, then wait for me." The simple verb may occur in Anc. Lett., i, 12, *šyr'kk ks'n* "I shall have a good time", where Reichelt has *kwn'n* ; Av. *kasa-*, etc.).

⁵ *γwβwy* may be a "predicative instrumental", see Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 1182, 1223.

⁶ This sentence is not clear. Literally "on this account that you now make or shall make (imp. or subj. sg. 2) hardness". For *šγy'k* see *BBB.*, p. 103 ; *Sogdica*, p. 20, and particularly *šxy'q wn-* *S.T.*, ii, 6, 33 : "Through these great (? *xw'n*) efforts they earned the paradise. So we, too, when we hear of such great (*xw'n*) forbearance, should take much trouble, etc." See also below text I, line 5.

⁷ *cpδ'* possibly from *hačā padā(t)*, Persian *az pai*.

G. The Daēnā

Fragment of a scroll, *recto* Chinese. Cursive Sogdian script, carelessly and irregularly written. This is not a story; it is given here as illustration to the next number (H). Better than any Manichæan text so far known, this fragment shows that the Manichæans shared the Zoroastrian idea of the “religion” (*daēnā*) of a man meeting him after death in the shape of a virgin, cf. Polotsky, *Le Muséon*, xlv, 268–271.

T ii Toyoq

(1) 'yw 'z-w'nh [(2) mrtymy pwny'nyh [(3) m'δ ZY γwty pw r'yh^a βwt [(4) šyr'nk'ry pwny'nk'ry kwδ prnm^b 'z-wyt^c rt[y (5) cyty^d 'tδrmkw'nch^e δ'm L' δβ'yšt [(6) MN wyspn'ch pw pckwyr m'δ ZY n[(7) pδyh pw 'y^f 'γš'nt (βy)'r'nt^g (ZKw)[(8) p'šy 'δy rty cw zmnyh myrty ptsrδ xxxx^h (9) δwγth βγšpsytⁱ pt'yey s'r 'ys'nt [(10) 'sprymy ZY zym'yny kwn'k'r rtšy myδ w(')[β'nt (11) L' pckwyr 'rt'w rw'nh p'rZY [(12) pty'p nyst p'rwtγ γr'm^j [(13) rty γr'm kw rwγšn'γrδmnwh s'r p(w)[(14) p(')δy^k γw wγšy pcγ'z p'rZY prm [(15) 'wz'ny p'ty wm'tyš m'δ ZY ZKn (w)[y]spw w'tδ'(rt)[y] (16) ZKw 'z-wnh^l z'ry sy'tδ'ry m'δ ZY šn L' ZY^{slc} (17) ptγwstδ'ry L' MN y'ty^m γwrtδ'ry rty kδry (18) γr'm kw βwδ'nty p'ryz wštm'γw s'r kw ZY γw nwšy (19) wγšy rtšy γw γypδ 'krtyh p'ryz βγy-pt(y)[c] (20) [. . .] δwγthⁿ pwr'yew my^o ryty 'ystw nwšy mryty^p (21) [.] ZKwyh pr srw 'sprymy myn(ch) (22) Jrtšy γwty r'δt'kw βwt

. . . one life . . . a man's *punya* . . . so that he will be free of guilt (?) . . . pious and meritorious as long as he lives . . . does not hurt even the demonic creatures . . . without fear of anything so that . . . immediately after . . . without

^a Or *rnyh* ? *rzyh* ? [Dr. Gershevitch suggests : mistake for *pw* 'rnyh].

^b Mistake : read *prnm*.

^c Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 810.

^d Hardly = “demon” ? Possibly = *cyty* in the *Ancient Letters*, ii, 54 ?

^e Mistake : read 'tδrmnk- (the same misspelling also in P 6, 191).

^f Or 'ny, or 'zy. If 'y, one might think of Old Ir. *āyu-* and compare 'yw."yh, DN. 76 ; *prw* 'yw "yh, P 2, 165 ; 'yw "yh . . . L', P 6, 19, 181. 'ny “other” is less likely here. “Re-birth” should be spelt 'zy. I do not understand this line.

^g The first two letters are illegible ; hardly β-.

^h There may have been four symbols for “twenty”, followed by other numerals. Only the first two symbols for “twenty” are clearly visible, after them only a few traces. Perhaps one should restore : *xx xx [xx xx x iiii iiii NLPW]* (there is certainly not space for more) = 99,000, and compare the traditional number of Fravašis, 99,999 (as e.g. in *Yašt* 13, 59–62 ; *MX.*, 49, 15 ; *Ind. Bd.*, 32, 9).

ⁱ Or *βγpsyt*. Presumably mistake for *βγšyt*.

^j *m* over (or under ?) *nh* (= *γr'nh*).

^k *p(y)δy* ?

^l Mistake : read 'z-w'nh.

^m At first sight one would certainly read *βrty*, but *y'ty* was no doubt intended.

ⁿ Restore [*wys*]δwγth ? Cf. e.g. *wysδγwth*, P 6, 165.

^o = Buddhist Sogd. 'my (oblique case of 'mw).

^p Or *myty* ? “birds” ? “meadows” ? “even ones” ? “clouds” ? “nails” ? Cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 26.

interval . . . they obtain (?) . . . the watcher. And at whatever time he dies, 80— . . . girl angels will come to meet him, with flowers . . . and a golden litter,¹ and speak thus to him: “Fear not, righteous soul, for you have no part in . . . ; but come forward . . . step forward to the Light Paradise, without . . . , receive joy. For in this [world] you have abstained from slaughter, you felt compassion with the lives of all creatures so that you did not kill them nor eat of their flesh. Now step forward to the fragrant, wonderful Paradise where there is eternal joy.”

And his own action, as² a wondrous, divine princess (?), a virgin, will come before his face, immortal . . . on her head a flowery . . . , she herself will set him on his way³ [to Paradise . . .

H. The Cæsar and the Thieves

Three pieces of a book, T i a, cursive Sogdian script, beautiful handwriting. One piece is a nearly complete folio, the second a large fragment of a double folio, the third is a smaller piece which helps to complete the text of the double folio. Thus there are three folios; one of them contains the story H, the two others are given below as I (admonitions and enigmas, cf. the Parthian text M 48, *HR.*, ii, 86). — A most peculiar story which despite prolonged study remains rather nebulous. A “Cæsar” is tricked into the belief that he is dead. A thief impersonates his *Farn*. Apparently this is not (as I had been thinking at first) his *daēnā* who should have the shape of a virgin according to text G, but the guardian spirit of a royal person or possibly of his country. Cf. *farrah ud wāxš* of a province, *BBB.*, p. 11, *farrah ud wāxš ī ʾn šahr*, *Man. Dogm.*, 551 (VX 3–4), *Qočo uluš . . . qutī waxšiki*, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 40, *Khurāsān xvarrah*, Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ix, 157. The *Farn* is male and wears royal garments; this agrees with the representation of *Φαππο* on Kushan coins; see Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 64 sqq. — The narrator placed the story in the third century, as the reference to *Šanšai* (line 25) shows; he was a disciple of Mani, *BSOAS.*, XI, 69. A *kysr* “Cæsar” who was the brother-in-law of *Npš’/Nβš’* (see *OLZ.*, 1939, 242) figures in the Sogdian version of the Manichæan Missionary History. In Iran *kysr* designated the Roman emperor only (*BSOS.*, ix, 834, inscription of A.D. 262; further references: Schaeder, *Iranica*, 35), but the Manichæans may have followed the usage of the Roman empire, as indeed their brethren did in Egypt (cf. *Kephalaia*, 186²¹, 187¹³). Valerian was a prisoner in Persian

¹ *kwn’k’r*: the context of *VJ.*, 1258 sq., shows conclusively that a *kwn’k’r* is a seat that is movable (‘wy . . . *kwn’k’r nysty šw’y-’skwn* “he went along sitting in his *kwn’k’r*”), cf. also *VJ.*, 1421. In *Dhyāna*, 285, *kwn’k’r* is, on the other hand, a fixed seat, or a “socle” (see Weller on the passage). I do not see why *kwn’k’r* should be translated as “pavilion” (Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1927, 1385; Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, 235); neither its meaning nor its form agrees with Skt. *kūṭāgāra*. [Cf. also *Uigurica*, iii, 71 line 8, and E. Sieg, *Sb. P.A.W.* 1937, 137 n. 2.]

² Or “and his own action, a wondrous . . . virgin”.

³ *r’δt’k- = rāθtāk-* “setting on the way, sending along the road” (see above, text B, line 9) corresponds with Arabic (*al-ḥakīm*) *al-ḥādī* in the *k. al-Fihrist*, 335, 11.

hands, Cyriades (Mariades) was emperor by the grace of Shapur (cf. *BSOS.*, IX, 835; see now A. Alföldi, *Berytus*, iv, 1937, 58 sqq.). The Manichæans may have approached one or the other.

T i α

(*Recto*)(1)]. o ZY kysr wδyδδ[(2) [. . w]yδp't wyš'ntw t'yt [(3)[. . .](w)r¹ tγt'nt o rty γw w'nk[w[.] (4) oo 'YKZY ZKwyh γzδ'ny cynt^r cr'γ ZY δmt[y^r] ² (5) ptswγt'kw 'sty o rty pts'r MN wyš'nt['](y) (6) (t')yty 'yw prn δyδym prw (s)rw 'wstytδ'rt (7) ZY MLK'mync³ nγwδn ptmwγtδ'rt Z(Y) (8) kw δywyδ tpn' kw ZY γw kysr np'sty (9) (w)m't pnt γyr 'tšy w'nk w'β 'yy (10) 'yy kysr wγr's wγr's 'PZY n'⁴ pckw(yr) (11) p'rZ-Y ('zw) tw' prn 'ym o rty kδry 'nγ(wn)⁵ (12) γw p'(š)['](y) prn⁶ 'ym γrβw t'yt ZY δ[y^m]βynt⁷ (13) 'ktw 'p[ryw ?] ⁸ (')tβy kδry 'z-w [(14)[βr]y' '(šk)[rc]y⁹ sγw('ym)k'm w'nk(w)[(15) L' (wβ)['](t) o rty wyδ(p)[t]y Z(K) [(*Verso*) (16)](š)y w'nk w'β 'nβγ[¹⁰ (17)]y 'tmy γwty 'pstk'ry wβ['] o] (18)]y ZKn kysry w'nk w'β oo (19)]. prw βry' prβ'rey 'škr'n o rty (20) [Z](K)[w]yh ryt(y) 'ys'ntk'm wyš'ntw dymβyntyt (?) (21) (p')rsykt t'[y](t)¹¹ ZY m'γw w'nk w'ps'nt (22) k'm mwnw cw tpn' γcy ky ZY 'šm'γw (23) (β)rδ'skwn o rty m'γw w'nk w'p'te[γ]ny (24) kwnymk'm o ktγw kysr 'yw mwšk[y]ch¹² pr (25) '(s)γ'nt¹³ kw š'nš'y s'r βr'šy oo ZY "ph (26)y cynt^r w'sty o 'tšy prw γypδ t'pw (27) t'ph o rty kδ' "δy δst' prw [t]pn' (28)]. . . oo rty tγw [γw](t)y prw (29) [mwškyh] βryn' βyks'r wny[r] kwn' (30)] t'yt ZKw tpn['] prw

. . . and the Cæsar there . . . thereupon those thieves entered the . . . , and so he . . .

When the lights and lamps had been lit in the tomb, one of those thieves placed the diadem of majesty on his head and put on royal garments. He

¹ Or](t)r [= *cynt^r* ?].

² Cf. *Sogdica*, p. 40.

³ *mδδk'mync*.

⁴ Some letters from the preceding page seem to have imprinted themselves on (n').

⁵ Or 'nγ(wn)[.] which could be 'nγwny or 'nγwnc, or 'nγ(t)[], or "γ(t)[(meaning respectively "such", "fight", "whole", "came").

⁶ Reading doubtful. One or two letters are lost between p'(š)[and]y. The y, however, is uncertain, and may be connected with the following word. The p- of *prn* was possibly connected to the right side. Thus one may have to read]t^{pm} instead of]y *prn* although the r seems to be fairly well marked.

⁷ The margin is cut off after about three-quarters of the letter -t. There hardly was left any space for the ending -yt which may be represented by 'ktw at the beginning of line 13.

⁸ This would fit the gap nicely, but it does not make sense. Perhaps 'p[ym], instead of "p'ym ? I feel dissatisfied with the restoration of the lines 11-13.

⁹ Cf. Reichelt, ii, 69, 11.

¹⁰ Or "βγ[, or "γγ[. Possibly a mode of address, ā (interjection ?) + enclitic -βaγ ("my Lord").

¹¹ A piece of paper is folded over the last letters; they could be read on the original. At first I read t'[β]('), but this is not satisfactory.

¹² The damaged fifth letter looks rather like (r) or ('), but mwšk[y]ch can hardly be anything but mwšk[y]ch.

¹³ '(z)γ'nt ?

approached the coffin where the Cæsar was lying, and spoke thus to him: "Hey, hey, Cæsar, awake, awake! Fear not, I am your *Farn*! Now, besides I am the guardian *Farn* for (?) many thieves and jugglers (??).¹ I shall lift you now . . . to guide you [through the] air, so that there shall not be. . . ."

Thereupon the [Cæsar] . . . and spoke thus to him: "Ah, my lord . . . be you my helper!" [The thief] said to the Cæsar: ". . . as charioteer² I shall guide [you] through the air. But those jugglers (?), the Persian thieves, will come face to face with us and ask us: 'What coffin is that which you are carrying?' We shall then reply in this way: 'The Cæsar has sent a cat to Šanšai for a joke (?). He has put (her) in (a) water[-chest?],³ and sealed it with his seal.' If one of them [should lay] hands on the coffin, let your voice be heard in the manner [of a cat]."

The thieves [lifted] the coffin on [their shoulders. . . .

Notes on tpn', γzδ'n-, and δymβynty

The understanding of this story depends largely on the interpretation of three words of which, I think, I can explain two.

(A) *tpn'* (one could also read *tp'n*) is here translated as "coffin". It is evidently an Aramaic word, cf. Syriac *dapnā* "bier" and *dupnā* "coffin". The spelling rather points to the word for "bier", but the story clearly requires "coffin". The fact that *-p-* is preserved (*-fnā* would appear as *-βn'*), suggests that the word was borrowed from Eastern Syriac.

(B) *γzδ'n-* (line 4), translated as "tomb", furnishes an explanation of the mysterious Pahlavi word *hz'n* ('*z'n*), regarded by some as an ideogram, which is employed to render the Avestan *daxma-* in the Pahlavi commentaries. The relation of *γzδ'n-*, which may reflect Manich. Middle Persian **hzd'n* or **xzd'n*, to Pahl. *hz'n* is the same as that of Av. *pazdu-* to Pahl. *pazūk*, of Pers. *duzd* to Pahl. and Man. MPers. *duz*, etc. Assuming the initial aspirate to be secondary, one could derive *haz(d)ān* or *xaz(d)ān* from Old Iranian **azdāna* < **azzd'āna* < **ast-d'āna*; the word would thus be identical by etymology with *astodān* "ossuary". A slight difficulty is provided by the isolated and doubtful Av. *uzdāna-* (or *uzdāna-*) "ossuary", *Vd.* 6, 50; while *haz(d)ān* could probably go back to such a form, one may prefer to emend it to **azdāna-*.

(C) *δymβynty-* (lines 12, 20), provisionally rendered as "juggler". In this manuscript the letters *y* and *β* are not distinguished, nor are *n* and '*.* This makes for a great number of possible readings, such as *δymyy'ty-*, *δβmβynty-*, *δβmyβ'ty-*, etc. My reading is suggested by MPers. *dymbndyy* (abstract noun to **dymbnd*) which occurs once in a Manichæan fragment

¹ This sentence is not clear, owing to several gaps in the manuscript.

² *prβ'rcy* from *prβ'r* "chariot". But see *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 3. Possibly there were two words *prβ'r*, (1) "chariot", (2) "explanation, pronouncement".

³ Implying: "This is not a coffin as you suggest, but merely a water-chest" ? But conceivably the sentence could mean: he has put water [and food] inside (the coffin, namely for the cat).

(M 204):] *dymbndyy* 'wd *qrugyh* 'yg *gwng gwng xyr'n* "ywšt'g'n 'wd *trs* 'y *wyptggy* 'wd *hmwg* 'n 'zwšt'g'n *ky mrdwhm'n* *wygybynd* 'ymyn *hrwysp'n* *dr'yšn'n* *ws'n u kyruwyh'n* [= " . . . the jugglery (?) and framing of various perplexing points, the fear of (= belief in) error and perverse creeds which mislead mankind, all these many clamours and artifices . . . "].

In this passage *dymbndyy* stands beside *kerrōgīh*¹ "art(ifice)s", while the Sogdian *dymβyntyt* are associated with *t'yt* "thieves"; hence, "impostors" or "jugglers". MPers. *dēm-band*, Sogd. *dēm-βende* may mean "sight-binding", i.e. preventing someone else from seeing what is being done to him. Compare Baluči *čam-band* "eye-fetters" = "deceit, illusion" (see Geiger, No. 52), and Pers. *čašm-band* "a spell put on the eyes".

I. The remainder of T i a

(First fol., recto) (1) [. . .]s'nty γmy wβy-k'm o ZY šyr(γ)[wzty] (2) ['ntw](γ)ch βwtk'm wβyw ms w'γwnc r'β (3) 'ystk'm ky 'β(zy)kw pty'r kwnty-k'm oo rty (4) m'n'h r'm'n(t) [. . .]w^a δ'r o ZY CWRH kδ[c] (5) γw't n' w'c oo (w')nk w šγy'-kw (kwn)[' ZKwy] (6) [nt]wγcy ZY wγ'sy myδ'ny ZKw[(7) L' pryey oo p'rZ-Y 'βc'np[δy (8) βγ'nykw 'nwt y msy-'tr 'nwt nys[t (9) kw mreprm MN CWRyh nw 'nwt n' (10) wβ' o ms MN γrβ'kw δy-nδ'r ky γwpw (11) wnγrš ptywšy ky γwty ršt' δ'ty (ZY) (12) [p]rm'nty-' δ'r't tγw wyδ wnγrš pts[. . .]^b (13) [.] pr šyr'kw 'z-n'ptnym wβ't (14) [y ršt' δ'ty ZY prm'nty-' (15)](n)y's oo rt(y) [kδ']^c ZKn (*verso*) (16) [γrβ'kw δy]nδ'r n' γryš oo rtms y[. . .]^c (17) γz-ny ZY βrγ'w p't'γš'wn δ'r ZY Z[Kwh] (18) wδw pr ptβyw δ'r w'nk w ZY prw tw' (19) [. . .]t(y)pt γwr'nt [L' ? δβ]z wyn'nt (20) [.] (MN) mwrkt'(r)y ZKwh tw' (21) [.] MN s'nty psw'n^d L' (22)] rtms tw' 'spy [. . .](γ)w (23) [.]y wynt prw γwrt ZY nγwδn (24) [š]yr'kwδ'r oo ms prm'nw trn ZY nmrw (25) prm'y oo rty tw' prywyδδ RBkw šyr'kty-' (26) (β)wtk'm oo kδ' 'yδych δβγštē ZY βyry (27) (p)[t]y-p(t)^e šyr 'ntwγs kwn' yw'(r) t(rp'r)[y]^f (28)^g n' wβ' kt γypδ rw'n[h kw tmw ?] (29) L' škry L' γwty RB[kw (30) rty pw p(r)[. . .]^h γ(yš)ypw [

¹ Or *kirrōgīh*, cf. *OLZ.*, 1934, 755; *BBB.*, 70; Messina, *Žāmāspik*, 51, n. 8, 138. I still do not see why the word should be read sometimes as *kērōk* and sometimes as *karrōk* (Bailey, *BSOS.*, IX, 231; *Zor. Problems*, 84, n. 2). Old Persian *krnūvaka* would regularly result in MPers. *kirrōg* (or *kerrōg*), which could be spelt either *kyruk/g* or *krwk/g*. Armenian *krōgpet* (Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1934, 512 sqq.) disproves *karrōk* (= Arm. **karōk*-) as well as *kērōk* (= Arm. **kiōk*-). There is no need for assuming a case of special treatment. The Old Iranian form *karnya* postulated by Bailey does not seem very plausible to me; it should, however, result in **karr*- (not in **kēr*-), to judge by MPers. *zarr* from *zarnya*-. [Add Pers. *karōgar*, Lexx. *g*- and *k*-, "one of God's names," presumably = *artifex*, *Divān-i 'Unšūrī*, Tehran 1298, fol. 29a; *Divān-i Nāšir-i Khusrāu*, 173, 4; *Divān-i Khāqānī*, 226, 1; *Garšāsp-nāme* Gl.]

^a Possibly (*šγ*)w ?

^b *pts[ym]* ? *pts[γty]* ?

^c Or *ym*[or β' [or βw [or βz [.

^d Or *psγwn*' (less likely).

^e Or (p)[r]y-'p(t).

^f n ly tops of letters, hence could be *t(rw'r)[c]*. See below text J, line 8.

^g (*š'n*) ? (*'z'n*) ? (*rš'n*) ? I cannot read this word. [Possibly **zcn*].

^h Restore *p(r)[m'n]* ? Cf. *Sogdica*, p. 16 (a 6).

(Second fol., possibly continuing the text without break, but whole folios may be missing) (recto) (31) [L'] wβ't oo oo ms γw 'γsr(w-γš)yδ^a (32) [MN] γntrwy m'yδ 'prs' oo kt (MN) (33) [']sm'ny cw 'sk'tr o ZY cw MN z'y-y (c)'str oo (34) ms MN γwry cw rwγšntry MN tm' (35) cw t'rtr oo MN (γ)[r]' cw γr'ntr oo ms (36) MN w'ty cw rynewkstr oo ZY MN z-ry (37) cw trγkystro oo rty ms ky 'δw y'wr ''z-yt (38) ZY 'yw p't myrty o ky nysty msy-'tr 't[. .] (39) 'n(γš)[t]y rystr o ky' γw γwβny t'w'ntr (ky) ? (40) γyδ [wγ]r'ty βwt o rtkδ' γw ('z-)my ('ysy) (41) γw ''my-n'y [. . . .] ^b o kδ' γw ''myny 'ys(y) (42) γw 'z-my k(w)[^c] ms ky' γh 'γ(ryw) ? (43)]('t) c.wy cw (44)]γsty oo cw twγ (45)]t oo rty cw (verso) (46) γcy ky MN δwry wynty ZY MN pnt [L'] (47) wy-n(ty) oo ms ZK n mrtγmy cw pš'βr p[. . .] ^d (48) oo ms cw δβ'r šyr'krty-' ptšmyrty ZY 'krt(h) ^e (49) βwt oo ZY cw y' δ'my rytr ZY z-wyttry (50) pt(wr)t^f ZY cw ZKh mrtγmy-ty z-yšty s'st (51) z-γty o ZY MN 'γrywy δwr ZY γwty p'ty s'st (52) 'skw't oo rtpts'r γyδ 'nc(γw) . . (cykw) ^g (53) [r'β]y ZY pδ'nky z-wr δβry ZY pc'y-y oo rty cw 'yw (54) ky prtr βwt oo rty cw γcy NLPW kyZ-Y rytr (55) (β)wt oo rty mrtγmy kn'c pyδ'r t(r)βγty (56) (γ)wrt ? ZY ptβyw (mn) . . . [.] ky' ''m'ty (57) (γwr)t ? ZY ptβyw [.]ty ZKwy (58) knδδ ZY 'wt'ky [(59) rytr ZY z-wγtry w[(60) mrtγmy-ty pnt.[(First fol.) . . . [if] you are despicable¹ [even] to your enemies, [if] your friends have sorrow, even [if] ever so many illnesses come which may cause sore tribulation, always keep your mind firm (?), never let your body² grow weak. So make efforts,³ in grief and feebleness,⁴ do not leave. . . . For in the world there is no greater help than the help of God . . . until death do not be without help from the body² (?). Also, you should hear the good salvation from the wise δēnδār who possesses the Right Law and Forgiveness⁵ . . . through that salvation you should . . . shall be recognized⁶ for goodness . . . take . . .

^a The rotograph I am using is slightly blurred. It may be possible to read the name without difficulty on the original. The fifth letter is either a final -w, or a -p-, which is connected to the left side. There is little doubt about -γ-, but -š- is uncertain (-s-?). "King Khusrau"?

^b Restore: [kw βwt]?

^c Restore: [βwt oo rty]?

^d Restore: p[rtr]?

^e The tail of the h is damaged, but no other reading seems possible. Surely this is a copyist's mistake for 'krt'nyh?

^f The letters (wr) are plainly visible, but so badly executed that the reading is doubtful. One thus has to consider also *ptwnt* (?) and *ptw't* (cf. BBB., p. 56, *patwāte* "dry" from *pati* + *vā* "to blow", cf. now *ptw's* P 6, 88, "to dry out"; note that *w's* Frg. iii, 16, is not "to howl" as Reichelt, i, 62, n. 3, assumed, but "to start to blow").

^g Or ''c(γw). (cykw).

¹ Reichelt, ii, 68, 10, *wyspw w'tδ'rtγ sy'ntcyk 't γmy βwt* "he becomes an object of ridicule and abhorrence (or disgust) to all living beings". In *S.T.*, ii, 3, 14, Lentz translated "wealth". The corresponding Syriac word (ibid., p. 560, line 17) is only partially preserved; Polotsky read *mwm* which could be completed to *mwm*['] = *mūmā* "macula, vitium", or *mwm*[y'] = *mūmāyā* "scelestus".

² Or "soul", or "self".

³ See above, p. 475, note 6.

⁴ Or "trouble", cf. BBB., 82 sq.; P 6, 15, 144, 168; P 12, 59.

⁵ I cannot construe this sentence; the first *ky* seems superfluous.

⁶ The meaning of *zn'ptnym* is not clear to me. See P 2, 1155; P 12, 70; Man. *jn'-ptnym*, BBB., 64 (where the translation is wrong).

the Right Law and Forgiveness. Never irritate¹ the wise *ḍēndār*. Furthermore, keep control . . . of treasure and wealth, honour your wife so that by your . . . they shall eat, not experience hunger (?), . . . so that after your death . . . there [shall be] no defamation² from the side of your enemies. Keep also your horse well . . . in fodder and cover. Give your orders humbly and mildly, you will gain great merit by it. If gains and profits begin to reach you, double your efforts, but do not be too greedy (?) so that you will not lead your soul to Hell and that great . . . and merciless (?) injury to yourself (*Second fol.*) shall not be. — And again the *'ysrw* king (??) asked the water sprite³: What is higher than the sky? What is lower than the earth? What is brighter than the sun, what darker than Hell? What is heavier than the mountain⁴, what lighter⁵ than the wind? What is bitterer than poison? Who is born twice and dies but once? Who is taller when sitting, and shorter when standing up⁶? Who is stronger in his sleep than waking?⁷ When winter comes, [where is] summer? When summer comes, where [is] winter? . . . What quickly . . . What is it that can be seen from afar, but cannot be seen from nearby? What provision is [best] for man? What gift is counted as a good deed, but is a sin? What are the worst⁸ and hardest (?) retributions (?) in this world, and what is it that man must hate and keep away from himself and guard himself against, but that later on, in . . . sickness and trouble, gives strength and is useful? What is one and superior, what is a thousand and inferior? And a man, for what reason . . . unseasonable⁹ food (?), and honour, . . . to whom ready food (?), and honour . . . in town and country . . . worse and harder . . . to men near. . .

J. The Kar Fish (Plate 2)

Large piece of a scroll, *recto* Chinese. Between the Chinese text some Sogdian scribbles, written in such a way that even a Sogdian might have had difficulty in deciphering them. Possibly: *'yny pwtšk xīīī βγ (?) γypδ γcy ky L' pȳr't pr'ys[t] (?) s'r pδsn (?)* "This book has 14 bundles (?). He who does not believe it, can go to. . . ." Cf. a similar Sogdian note on another scroll-fragment (also T ii T): *ZY "γtprn (? -kr') γypδ o xx z'm k'γδ' γypδ γcy* "Belongs to Āyat-farn. Has 20 fine pieces of paper". — Cursive Sogdian

¹ Cf. *γr''š*, *SCE.*, 446, and Pers. *xarēšīdan*, cf. Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 514 sq.

² *psyw'n* from *apa.saxvan*?

³ *γntrw* = Av. *gandarawa*, cf. *wp'p-γntrw*, P 3, 131 = Av. *upāpō gandarawō*. This is the genuine Sogdian form; Skt. *gandharva*- is transliterated as *knt'rβ* (e.g. P 8, 55). Sogd. and Skt. show final *-va*, but Av. and *Šīynī žindīrv* (*Sköld*, *Pamirspr.*, 312) have final *-ba*.

⁴ Cf. the Pahlavi text *Yōšt-i Fryān*, iii, 22-29 ("lie and falsehood").

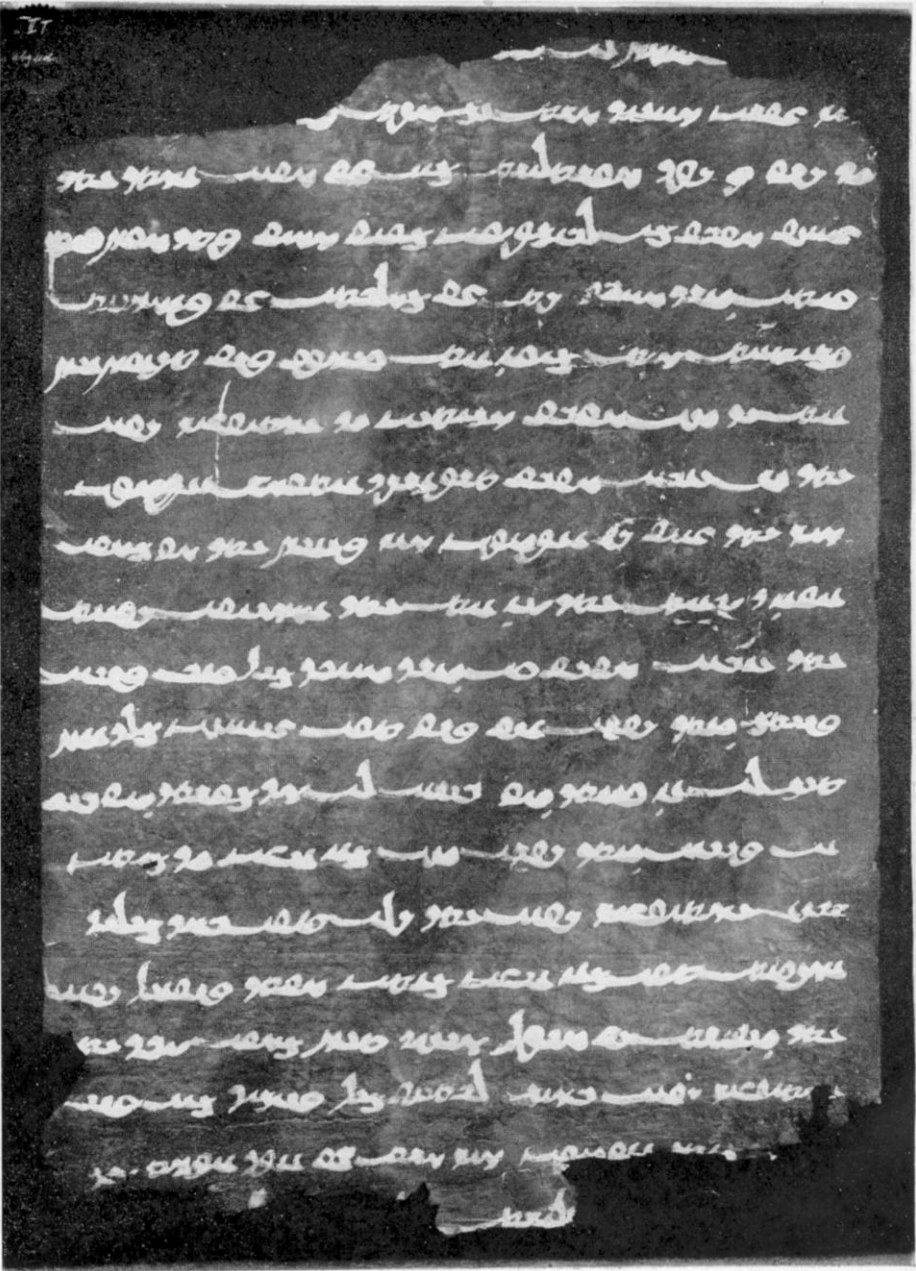
⁵ *rynckw*-, P 6, 185; P 12, 55; Wakhi *rānšk*. From *ranfu*, cf. Av. *raγu*-, *rānš*-.

⁶ The answer is "a dog", cf. *Yōšt-i Fryān*, ii, 17-18.

⁷ The construction of this sentence is not clear, but there is no doubt about its meaning.

⁸ *rytr* is opposite to *prtr* (on which see Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 437), cf. below line 54. The abstract *rytry* (*rytryh*) occurs in P 6, 192 (beside *prtry'kh*); P 12, 33; and above, text D, line 12. [On royal "*aporai*" see now W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, 427-36.]

⁹ *trβyt*-. "untimely, too early, unseasonable, premature" from Av. *tarō.baxta*- "against (normal) fate", see P 2, 32, 450; P 6, 178, 183, 189, etc.



p. 483]

THE KAR FISH.

[$\frac{2}{3}$ nat. size.

script. It is generally possible to say, with a fair degree of certainty, whether the scribe of a fragment written with this script (the worst script I know) was a Buddhist or a Christian or a Manichæan, even where the contents give no hint. In this case, I think it was a Manichæan, but there is no certainty. It is thus possible that this is a Buddhist story. — *R'β'n γwβw* can mean (1) the king of the country of *Rāβān*, or (2) the king of the *Rāβs*, or (3) King *Rāβān* (cf. Skt. *Rāvaṇa* ?); if (2), cf. *Rāv-šār*, Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 332 ? His son's name is *kwl'* (only as vocative, hence -' could be Sogdian ending), but one could read *kwl'n* instead. *Kwl'n* conceivably = *Kü-lang-na* (Middle Chin. *kju-lāng-nja*) as Hsüan-ts'ang writes for the name of Prince Kuṇāla (cf. Watters, i, 246). There is some faint resemblance to the story of *Kuṇāla*, who was (1) a prince, (2) hurt by his evil stepmother. According to Anquetil and Markwart (*Wehrot*, 188) the Kar Fish was the sturgeon, but Justi (*Bund.*, 203) correctly identified it with the wels (*Silurus glanis*). Av. *kara* is by etymology the same word as Germ. *wels* (cf. Walde-Pokorny, ii, 541).

T ii T

(1)].wγs L' . . [(2) [s]'r CWRH sn'y'y γrt rm z'kt p[r'γw + about eight letters] (3) ZY krw kpy^a γwrtδ'rt mn' cw γw'n 'sty rty (4) c'n'kw γwβw MN δβ'mpnwh mwnw synw^{slc} pty-γwš (wntn)^b (5) wntn z'ry γn'β(w)^c kt cw mγδβt' cw p'γsynt (6) wm't'nt s't mnwz'-nt wyspw prw tk'wš 'ys (7) 'nt ZY ZKn γwβw sm'tyh^d ZY ršt'wc'r kwn' (8) rty ZK r'β'n γwβw trp'rky 'ntwγc 'pznph (9) s'r^e rty c'nw kw 'pznph s'r pr'ys rty γw mγwn (10) 'nw'z-y nβ'nt rty nyz'-nt rty 'γšy'wn^f kwnnt (11) rty r'β'n γwβw w'-z'ry γn'βy myδ w'β pry'n (12) pryt m z'ty kwl' 'zw prw tw' cyn'kh mδy 'γ (13) tym L' 'z-w'nty znw βyr'n L'-šy^{slc} mwrty znw βyr (14) 'n pry'n^g z'ty kwl' ZKn m'z'-ych ZY m'th (15) (R)Bk'eg ršt'wc'r kwn' rty kδ' tw' βγγ myδry (16) 'skw't tw' m'z'-ych m'th γwty prw'yδ kwn'.^h (17) rty zyw'rt kw γypδ šy kny tys mγwn n'βy rt[y ?] (18) (rš)t'wc'r kwn' βš'm δβtykw myδ pr'm'y mn' pry'[n] (19) [pryt m] (z'ty) 'pznph s'r γrt kwⁱ 'py 'npst ZY (20) [šy krw kpy γwrt] δ'rt [

" . . . he went to [the river-bank] to bathe, together with the children, . . . the Kar fish swallowed [him]. How can it be my fault ? " When the king had heard these words from the queen, he wept so very pitifully that all the ministers and all the councillors¹ ran together ; all came to see, and to calm and comfort the king.

^a Before *kpy* a cancelled *k*.

^b Badly written, meant to be cancelled.

^c Or perhaps *γn'β(y)*.

^d = *sm'tyγh*, *symtyh*, *VJ.*, 379, 387, 1434. Probably connected with Skt. *śam* "to be calm", etc., which would be **sam* in Iranian. The ending, however, is somewhat unusual. Hence perhaps a loan from Middle Indian *samita* + Sogdian abstract suffix *-yā*.

^e A verb seems to have been omitted by the scribe (*γrt*).

^f Mistake for *'γš'ywn*.

^g *pryt m* left out by the scribe.

^g On 'YK' = how ?

^h There is a smudge at the end of this word. It is difficult to say whether *kwn'* or *kwn'n* was intended. I think, one would rather have *kwn'n*, even in the preceding line (15) where the MS. has *kwn'* (which at a pinch could be read *kwnn*).

ⁱ Corrected *pr.m*.

¹ ? *p'γsyn*-. Chinese ? First part possibly the same as in *baχšā* (cf. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, XI, 48, n. 6).

And the king of (?) Rāḥān went to the bank of the river in boundless¹ grief. When he had reached the bank—the whole crowd came out with (him) and mourned —, the king of (?) Rāḥān very pitifully weeping spoke thus: “Oh, most beloved son Kul,² I have come here in the hope of seeing you. Shall I find neither his living nor his dead body?³ Oh, most beloved son Kul, I shall (?) greatly console your stepmother,⁴ but if your Lordship’s death⁵ should have taken place, I myself will call your stepmother to account.”

He returned and entered his palace. The whole people consoled him. On the next day he ordered a proclamation⁶ to be made (?) in these terms: “My most beloved son went to the bank of the river. He fell into the water. [The Kar fish] swallowed [him. . . .]”

Note on prw’yδ (line 16)

The verb *prw’yδ* “to demand, seek, ask for” is common enough in Sogdian, but the noun *prw’yδ* does not seem to occur in the hitherto published material. *prw’yδ* in P 3, 102, is merely a misspelling of *pr’ywyδ*. Beside *prw’yδ* = Yaghobi *parvīd-* (“to demand, ask, let come”) there was also *βrw’yδ-* (= *frawēd-*) which in Sogdian script may be spelt *prw’yδ-*, too. *frawēd-* means “to reach, hit, attack” (as a misfortune a person). P 3, 117: who possesses such a stone, *rty šy’wyh γ’n’kyh nwš’kw βž’yk’ p’tβr’s βrw’yδt tns ZY wtytyy ZY sryβt’m ZY ’ntwyc* “in his house tribulation will reach him continually, grief and trouble, suffering and sorrow”. P 3, 108: who keeps such a stone in his house, will be superior to all his competitors, *rtyšy mž’yγw wγšy mž’yγ š’twγy’kh prw’yδt* “and great joy and happiness shall reach him”. M 502 p 6: *[xw w kyw’n jmy’ pr myδδ z’y šnyy[. . . .] xw’c r’f frwyδδt* “When there is an earthquake on a Saturday during daytime, illness and sickness will attack . . .”. Both *parwēd-* and *frawēd-* belong to the base *vaēd* “to find” (cf. Av. *fravaēda-*, etc.).

The noun *prw’yδ* is met with in the Sogdian version of a Middle Persian poem. MPers. M 651 + Ti Hi = Sogd. T ii T 10, 3.

¹ *trp’rky* from **tarō.pāraka-*, cf. Av. *pārmtara-*.

² Or *Kula*, *Gul*, *Gula*, *Kūlā*, *Kōlā*, etc. Or *Kulan*, *Gulan*, etc.

³ *žnw* = *žyn’kh* (S.T., ii)? Cf. above E 15.

⁴ The whole of this sentence is not clear to me. — *m’zych m’tħ* also in SCE., 242 (where the wrong reading *m’nych*). Not apparently connected with Pashto *maira mōr* (from **mātruiā-* = *μητρυιά*, Arm. *mauru*).

⁵ Benveniste, BSOS., ix, 507, derives *mydry* from Av. *maša*, *-maša* = Old Iranian *mṛta-* or *marta-* (the spelling *mydry*, given by Benveniste, is not attested in the published texts; it is agreed that *mydry* in VJ., 1206, is not “death”; possibly “Mithra”). However, Old Iranian *mṛta-* becomes *murt-* in Sogdian, while OIr. *mart-* is Sogd. *mart-*. A further obstacle to the proposed derivation is the difference in meaning (“dead”: “death”). It seems that Sogd. *mydry* continues OIr. *mṛthyu-*, see Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 185, 507. — The equivalent of Av. *aməša-* in Sogdian is *mṛδ[’spnd]*, *mṛd[’spnt-]*.

⁶ Perhaps rather: “He returned to his palace, the whole people entered, he dismissed them with words of comfort. On the next day he ordered.” Or: “the whole people with words of comfort accompanied him.” *βš’m* is not too clear here (cf. VJ., 356, 1343).

In MPers.: [*'wd 'gr d'ywr*] *wynd'n 'y r'stwcr*¹
 [*kym 'c ? wystm*] *bg'n hng'm kwn'd*
 [*wm pd*] *zwr ny 'w(d)rnz'd*

In Sogd.: *rty kt'r ZKw δ'tnm'n*² *'γtw*³ *βyr'n oo kyZYmy c'wn nz'mtty* (?) *zwβ'st'npyty*⁴ *prwyδ kwn't* *rtmy prw pδ'ty 'wzt'k L' kwn't* “And if I should find the justly deciding judge who would find for me against the tyrants and would not condemn⁵ me unlawfully”. It is unfortunate that in this passage the MPers. equivalent of *prwyδ*, i.e. *hng'm*, is merely another word of unknown signification; neither Pers. *hangām* nor Pers. *hangāme* appear to be of use. But so much is clear that *hng'm* = *prwyδ* is a term of the juridical language. It seems that *hangām* occurs in a line of the *Šābuhragān*, M 475 R 9, where Müller read *'ng'm*⁶: “but whoever sinned against you, *h'nt'n d'dyst[n] qwn'n u hng'm xw'h'n*, I shall institute a process against him on your behalf and call him to account.” Here Müller translated “assembly”, and Marr (*apud* Salemann, *Man.Stud.*, 54) referred to Arm. *angam*. One could rather compare Arm. *hangaman-k* “finding, report, circumstance” (cf. Lagarde, *Arm.Stud.*, p. 83). We should take care not to confuse MPers. *hng'm* with Parthian *'ng'm*.⁷

Closely related to *prw('y)δ* is *prwyδy* in *Stellung Jesu*, 95, line 7: *MN βγ'nyšyδ 'zrwβγ' m'γ prwyδy* “who finds for us against (the wrath of) the King of Gods Azrua”, or “who defends us before the King of Gods”. The translation suggested by Lentz (*Mittler*) is approximately correct. Again there is an unknown word in the Parthian version of the passage (*ky 'ndrbyd*⁸ *'m'h 'wd pydr*).

K. A Job Story

Large piece of a scroll, *recto* Chinese. Some interlineary scribbles on both pages. Cursive Sogdian script. Written by a Manichæan, apparently a beginner in the art.

T ii D

(1) *z-mnw* "(w)γ'n(')yt^a 'skw'nt ZY ZKw 'nw'stk *rty pts'r yγw'y'nt* (2) (γ)w 'yw cnn δβtyk w'nkW 'PZY γwy'r ZK 'yw δn δβtyk L' wyn'nt (3) [rty] kδ

¹ I.e. *rāst-wičir*. ² Cf. Reichelt, i, 68, line 10 (see also Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 498).

³ See above p. 468, n. 3.

⁴ Or *wβ-*; this may be an older form of *zwstmbyy*, *-bky'h* (*Kawān*, E 8, I 2).

⁵ MPers. *'wdrnz-* “to condemn” also in M 28 i V i 8, previously wrongly separated (*'wd rnz-*), see *ZIL.*, ix, 199, line 8, *ōzate* from *ōzām-*.

⁶ It is not possible to control the reading now.

⁷ *Mahrnāmag*, 367. Also M 137, ii, 7: *'xšd'g 'ym rwc wx'stw'nyft yzd'n 'ng'm bg'n 'wt fryšt'g'n* (cf. *Mahrn.*, 343) “Full of mercy this day of confession, time of assembly (?) for deities and angels”. Cf. the meaning of Sogdian *āyām* “feast-time”. By the way, in Beruni's list of the Sogdian feasts *من عيد خواره* (*Chron.*, 235¹) should be corrected: read *مرغند خواره* = *mryund-xwāre* “(the feast of) eating dumplings”.

⁸ *'ndrbyd* occurs also in M 678, 27 (no context). Cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 50.

^a At first sight I read *'cy'ntyt*; but *'wγ'n'yt* (= Man. *'wx'nyy*, Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 351) was probably intended.

γβsty ZK mrtγmy (p)rw γrβ γnpnh rty δβ'yz-t pr γrβ (4) [?'rk]h
 ZKw γrβ γz-nw ZY γr'm'k rty βwt ZK γ'mkyn ZY pršt'yt (5) [γ'n']kh
 ZY RBkw kty'kh ZY prrypt ZK^{sic} γrβw wδ'ysth rtyšn (6) "z-yt'nt γrβ z't'y-t
 ZY δwγtrth rty δβrty ZKn z't'yt ^a (7) [w]δ'ysth ZY ZK^{sic} δwγtrty ZK
 z'mt'yty rty kwnty RBkw βγ'n'yšp (8) [']krty rty ZK γrβw n'β ZKn βrys'nt
 prw šyr'kw γš'wnh ZY (pr) (9) š'twγw 'z-w'nh ZY prw RBkw γ'n'kh ZY pr
 kty'kh ZY prw γrβw (10) (γz-)nw ZY pr γr'm'kw ZY pr γrβw z't'yt ZY pr
 γrβw δγwtrt ZY pr (11) [z']mt'yt ZY pr np'yšnt ZY pr γrβw δ'yh^{sic} ZY pr
 γrβw βnt'yt (12) [ZY] pr 'stwrpδ'k ZY pr γrβw 'rp'st'wyh ZY pr šyr'kk
 pršt'k rty (13) [pr] 'ny'δeykw ZY "βrywnykw^b 'z-γyr'nt ZKwy 'nytw
 knδyh ZY prw (14) [. . .]m'yt ^c oooo oo rtynwkr pts'r βwt ZK γyrtr (ZY)
 (15) [. . .]r^d cnn z't'yty ZY cnn δwγtr(ty)[ZY] cnn z'mtyty (ZY) cnn np['](yšn)[ty]
 (16) [γγw'yt ? ZY ? tr] 'z-mnyh ZK (")γ'z'-nt mwrty (rty)w nyw(nty)
 (mr)tym'y^e (17) [. . .]s'nt^f ky' ZY ZKh "z'-(wnh) "(z)-yt (ZY) L' ZK "z-wnh
 yw'r (18) [?'kr](t)δ'rt rtms 'sty w'nkz 'z-mnw γwty 'kw δštwh ZY (n)y'z-h
 (19) [pr'](y)s'nt^g ZY βwt try'z-yn^h ZY 'ny'z-kyn pr wyspw "δcw rtyw L'
 (20) [mr']z ZY L' pstk'r'k βyrt rtyw βwt γwδk'r ZY 'yw-t'(c) rtyw (21) [L']
 'sp'yšt ZY L' prm'nptγws'k βyrt rtyw nγ(nw) (p'c)ⁱ prywyδ (22) ['z'-mnw
 nγnw γwty [. . .]yt^j ZY cnn γ'wh [γšyβt]y^k γwrtty rtyw npδty (23) [ZKw](y)
 wnyh (s)y(')ky^l rtyw βrysty ZKw(y) [. . .]n [δ]štwny ZY dyw'nty δ'yh

. . . [at one] time they live together and under the same roof, but later they
 separate from each other so that they do not meet each other easily.

And if a man strives with much effort and amasses much treasure and
 wealth by much work and becomes rich and sets up house and a large house-
 hold and takes to himself many wives and has by them many sons and daughters
 and gives wives to the sons and grooms to the daughters and makes a great
 marriage-feast,¹ many people congratulate² him on his handsome power and

^a Corrected *prima manu* from *z'mt*.

^b *Prima manu* "βryncykw, above a scrawl in a different hand *pš* . . . *w*, probably a teacher's
 correction = "put in a *Wāw*".

^c Possibly *sm'yt*. Hardly *[p']rm'yt* = *pāramitā*.

^d Not apparently *lw* = *[zmn]w*.

^e Or *mrtymty*.

^f Hardly *[βr]γs'nt*?

^g Apparently mistake for *[pr']yst*.

^h Or *try'z-y'*. One cannot, it seems, read *trytz-* and combine the word with Man. *trytz'y*,
 Chr. *tryz'y* (BBB., p. 60). The word in *Frg.*, v, 5, cf. Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 498, is presumably
tr'yyn = Man. *tryyn* in M 765k: *c'nw tryyn yp'q*. Not clear is *tr'zγw* or *tr'nγw*, *SCE.*, 332.

ⁱ Reading very doubtful; in fact it is a restoration rather than a reading.

^j *snyt*? There may have been *δ* after *γwty*, hence *L'*?

^k There is hardly enough space for this word.

^l Only tops of letters, suggesting *γy'ky*, *γynky*, *γyzky*, *šy'ky*, *syzky*, etc., but *sy'ky* is the
 most likely reading.

¹ *βγ'n'yšp*-'[']krty = Chr. *by'npšqty*, *S.T.*, i, 39, 4 = Syriac *bēθ meštūthā*, Luke xii, 36. The
 Middle Persian verse: [*druw*] 'br tw d'm'd oo qyt pwsryn [r']'[y] (wδ)wdg[n] qyrd "Welcome,
 bridegroom who hast made a marriage-feast for the young men (sons)" (M 85, 8) is translated
 into Sogdian in this way: *zokyh β't ZKn tw' p(y)š'k* (? *pyš'k*?) o *ky ZY wsn MN* "z-wnty *pyδ'r*
ZKw βγ'ny pškt'kw 'krtwδ'ry (T ii D, G). One cannot, apparently, read *wywdg[n]*, cf. *Kawān*,
 A 57, Pahl. Psalter *wydwtky*, Gr.Bd. 51, 10, *wydwtk'n* = *wayōdagān* (cf. Pers. *bayōgānī*). The

joyous life, great house and household, much treasure and wealth, many sons, daughters, sons-in-law, grandchildren, maidservants, slaves, cattle, great prosperity³ and beautiful equipment, and name him with laudation and praise in the whole town and . . .

But afterwards, at a later time (?), [he becomes separated ?] from his sons, daughters, sons-in-law, and grandchildren: they begin to die [before their] time. People [think little ?] of such a man to whom children were born but whom no children mourn (?).⁴ And at some time he falls into poverty and want and becomes destitute (?) and needy in every way. He finds neither hireling nor helper, neither menial nor servant, and becomes lonely and solitary. At such time the baker (?) even [denies him] bread. His food is milk from the cow, he sleeps in the shadow of a tree, he defers to the . . . poor and to the slave-girls. . . .

Additional note.—Attention should be drawn here to the Sogdian liturgical text *BBB.*, 46–7, where the reading of a Parthian tale is prescribed for the “body-and-soul ceremony”; its title is given as *wyspwehr ’d cnd’l (?) z’dg* = the Prince with the Caṇḍāla’s son. It is likely that this was a Manichaean text of “Barlaam and Yoasaf” (cf. *BBB.*, 99) the Hebrew version of which has the title *ben hammelekh wəhannāzīr* = the Prince and the Ascetic. The Hebrew derives from an Arabic version which in its turn was translated from Syriac; for *يوناثية* in the presumed Arabic text is evidently a misread *سريانية* (a common mistake!), not *هنديّة* as Kuhn boldly proposed (*Barlaam und Joasaph*, p. 42). Should the other Arabic versions, too, derive from Syriac texts (and not directly from an Iranian original), one would be tempted to explain the ascetic’s name (*Βαρλαάμ*, Georg. *Balahvari*, Ar. *Balauihar*) as a misunderstood Syriac appellative, a compound with *bar-* “son”, corresponding to the Parthian compound *čandāl-zādag*; Kuhn took the name for *bhagavān*, Sachau for *purohita*. But I cannot say what word the Syrian translator may have thought suitable for rendering the Indian *caṇḍāla*. The gruesome tale of *Türkische Manichaica*, i, 5–7, which S. von Oldenburg discovered in Ibn Bābüye’s version of “Barlaam and Yoasaf” (*Izv. Imp. Ak. Nauk*, 1912, 779–82), occurs also in al-Ghazālī’s *Kīmīyā-yi Sa’ādat*, lithogr. Lucknow a.h. 1279, pp. 51 sq.

Sogdian word does not seem to contain *-kate* “house”, in spite of the spelling *-kt’kw* in one case and the Syriac equivalent; probably *-kte* from *-krtaka-*. The centre part of the Sogd. compound, *-pš-*, *-šp-*, could be explained with the help of *p(y)š’k* = *dāmād* in the above passage, but the reading is very uncertain (from *puθraka*?).

² Or “honour”, or “praise”, see line 23 and *V.J.*, 1012 (cf. also *ZDMG.*, 90, 198 n.). Gauthiot, *Gramm.*, i, 148, recognized that *βrys-* belonged to Av. *barəg-* “to welcome” (Pahlavi *burzīdan* also “congratulate”, e.g. *Šnš.*, vi, 5, cf. also the passages given by Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, s.v.). In composition with the preposition *ā-* the meaning of *barəg* is “to like to possess, to desire”: Sogd. *āβraχse* “desire, lust” from **ā.βrsaka-*, Saka *orsa*, *aurisa* “desire” from **ā.βrsxa-* (> *āβrsxa* > *āβrīsa* > *aurīsa* > *aurisa* cf. *-rīs-* from *-rxs-* in e.g. *hamgrīs-* and *-rs-* from *-rīs* after a vowel in e.g. *pars-*), Parthian *āwarzōg*, Middle Pers. *āwarzōg*, Persian *ārzū* “desire” from **ā.barfu-*.

³ Cf. *S.T.*, ii, 576b.

⁴ This passage is not very clear. On *yw’r* see *JRAS.*, 1944, p. 140, n. 2.

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The Manichæan Fasts

By W. B. HENNING

(PLATE XIV)

IN an excursus to his article on "The Early Sasanians" in *BSOAS.*, xi, 42 sqq., S. H. Taqizadeh has given a full and illuminating discussion of the Manichæan two-day fasts which preceded the feast of the *Bema*. All hitherto known about these fasts is contained in a passage in the *K. al-Fihrist*, 333, 28-334, 1, which runs as follows:—

As regards the fasting—

- (1) when the sun is in Sagittarius and the moon is full, they fast two days without break,
- (2) then when the New Light appears, they fast two days without break,
- (3) after this, they fast two days when the moon is full (and the sun is) in Capricornus,
- (4) then when the New Light appears and the sun is in Aquarius and eight days have passed of the (lunar) month, they fast for thirty days, but break the fast each day at nightfall.

It seems to me that this information can be supplemented and (in part) corrected with the help of Sogdian Manichæan calendar tables published here for the first time. They had been referred to before by F. W. K. Müller (in *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1907, 465) and by myself (in *Orientalia*, viii, 1939, 87-95) for the purpose of establishing the correct forms of the names of the Sogdian days and months.

The Sogdian calendar lists, after giving details for each year (eras, "basic numbers" of sun and moon, first weekdays), contain lists of the New Moons¹ (fixed by the Sogdian month and day, the weekday, the hour of day or night, and sometimes the *ratus*² of the hour) and, at the end, lists of *five* groups of two days. Although this second list is not fully preserved in any of our manuscripts, there can be little doubt that it constitutes a register of the Manichæan two-day fasts.

This is shown by the intervals between the various groups of two days. Disregarding the fifth group of two days we find that

¹ Thus (rather than New Light) according to S. H. Taqizadeh. The Sogdian word ("New God") could refer to either.

² *ratu* = 10 seconds.

the intervals are (a) 16, (b) 14, (c) 23 days in MS. No. 1, and (a) 16, (b) 13, (c) 24 days in MS. No. 2. They correspond precisely with the intervals between the fasts as given in the *K. al-Fihrist*, viz. (a) between full moon and new light, (b) between new light and full moon, (c) between full moon and new light plus eight days. Since the lists of the groups of two days are accompanied by lists of the new moons (or new lights) for the whole year, it is easy to see that the first two-day group coincided with a full moon, the second with a new light (or new moon), etc.

However, the calendar lists have a *fifth* fast which fell twenty-six days after the fourth (and last) fast of the *K. al-Fihrist*, and therefore within the Manichæan fast-month. It seems to me that this interval represents the twenty-six days of Mani's suffering in prison before his death (*Homilies*, 60, 11; *Psalm-book*, 16, 25; 43, 30). The fifth fast thus commemorates Mani's death; it fell on the 27th and 28th days of the fast-month. On the third day after it (*Psalm-book*, 41, 18, cf. Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 49 sq.), hence on the 30th day of the fast-month, the feast of the *Bema* was celebrated.

It is apparent that Ibn an-Nadīm has omitted to mention that within the fast-month there were two two-day fasts (respectively on the 1st and 2nd, and the 27th and 28th days of the fast-month) on which the fasting was uninterrupted. On the remaining days of the fast-month the *Auditores* had to observe the rule obligatory for the *Electi* during the whole of their lives, viz. they were allowed only one meal, at nightfall.

A further point the Sogdian calendar lists may help to settle concerns the *yiti yimki* "Seven Yimki" of the Turkish Khwastwanift. It seems that the *seven* Yimki were identical with the *five* two-day fasts, or, at least, were distributed over the five fasts in some way we can hardly hope to determine with accuracy. In one of the unfortunately badly preserved Sogdian manuscripts, No. 2, *yymkyy* seems to occur as the name of one of the fasts (but the reading is uncertain). In another MS., No. 5, the "Mār Sīsin Yimki" is referred to, and it is stated that it took place on *two* days and coincided with a *new light*. One is thus led to assume that "Mār Sīsin Yimki" was the name of the second fast (the only one to coincide with a new light).

The word *yimki* may mean "prayer", especially "prayer of intercession" (see *BBB.*, p. 139b, and below, text No. 7). The fasts may have been held in commemoration of martyrs on whose

behalf prayers of intercession were delivered. The first fast was devoted to the memory of the *Primus Homo* (the greatest martyr of world history, from the Manichæan point of view), see text No. 4 ; the second to Mār Sīsin, Mani's martyred successor ; the fifth and last, representing the anniversary of Mani's death, surely to Mani. Of the remaining two fasts, the third or fourth probably commemorated the martyrdom of the three presbyters who followed *Mār Sīsin* into death (*Homilies*, 83, 7 sq. ; *üč maxistak olurmaq*, *Thomsen-Festschrift*, 147, see *ZDMG.*, 90, 15, n. 1) : this may have counted as *three yimkis* (the excess of the *seven yimkis* over the *five* fasts could thus be accounted for).

According to the *K. al-Fihrist* the fasts were fixed by the phases of the moon and the position of the sun in the ecliptic. However, it is far more likely that the early Manichæans determined the dates solely by reference to the Babylonian calendar. Only the Persian Manichæans, being not well acquainted with the Babylonian calendar, may have introduced Luni-solar definitions. Originally, therefore, the first day of the fourth fast, coinciding with the first day of the fast-month and commemorating Mani's imprisonment, was fixed on the 8th day of Šabāt (translated as "8th Emshir", *Homilies*, 60, 11). The fifth fast, on the 27th and 28th of the fast-month (= Mani's death), fell always on the 4th (and 5th) of Ādār, while the feast of the Bema took place on the 7th of Ādār (the 30th day of the fast-month).

His Excellency S. H. Taqizadeh to whom I submitted this article before publication, very kindly consented to contribute a number of notes on the chronological problems to which these ¹ fragments give rise ; they will be found at the end of this article.

No. 1

M 148. Two small pieces forming one page which is damaged at the bottom and at the outside margins. No whole lines are missing. Distribution of *recto* and *verso* is certain by the appearance of the interior margin. Above the names of the months there are numerals written with coloured ink (to indicate, according to

¹ Similar tables existed also in Uyğur Turkish. Two fragments were published by G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, vii, Nos. 8 and 9 (see also my notes *apud* Rachmati, p. 61). The dates are fixed by reference to the Sogdian and the Chinese calendars : this makes the tables somewhat confused. They cannot be understood without the help of the Sogdian MSS.

S. H. Taqizadeh, the first weekdays of the months); in the transliteration they are given *after* the names of the months.¹

Recto

- (1) 'wd iii pnjwg oo nwgrwc iii šmbyd oo xwmn'h [
- (2) n'wsrδyc iii byynwy o "bwx rweyy o pncšmbyd mydyh o
- (3) xwrjnye v byynwy o "bwx rweyy o šmbyd 'xšpy'h o .[
- (4) nysnye vii byynwy o "š rwe[y o 'yw]šmbyd mydyh .[
- (5) [ps'kyc ii b]γ[ynwy o "š rweyy o iii]š[mbyd 'x]šp[y'h o
- (6) (š)[n'](xnt)yc [iv] byynwy [o δš]cyy r[wecy o i]iii [šm]byd
m[ydyh
- (7) γz'n'nc vi byynwy o δšcyy rwe[y o "δy]n'h 'xšpy'[h o
- (8) bγk'nc i byynwy o mrt't rweyy o šmbyd mydyh pnc[myk
'jmny'h o]
- (9) "b'nc iii byynwy o mrt't rweyy o ii šmbyd 'xšpy'[h o
- (10) bwγyc v byynwy o 'rt't rweyy o iii šmbyd mydyh o [
- (11) myšbwγyc vii byy[nwyo '](rt)['t rwe[y o p]ncšmby[d 'xšpy'h
- (12) jymtyc ii bγ[ynwy o spnd'rmt rweyy o "δyn'h mydyh o
- (13) (')xšwmy(c) [iv byynwy o spnd'rmt rweyy o 'ywšmbyd 'xšpy'h o

Verso

- (14)]. rweyy o ii šmbyd mydyh o vi-myk 'jmny'h
- (15) (*col. ink*)]h srδyh
- (16)]xyh o frwrt' tyh wšγ[n]'h rweyy o iišmbyd iiišmbyd
- (17)]h o spnd'rmd '[tyh 'rt']t rweyy o iii 'ty pncšmbyd
- (18)](frwrt) ['tyh w](šγ)[n]'h rweyy o iii 'ty pncšmbyd]
- (19)]h o m'x ['ty]h [tyš rw]cy[y o "δ]yn'h 'ty šm[by](d)
- (20)]h o dyšcyy 'ty[h "šrw]cyy o iii šmbyd pncšmbyd
- (21)] (*blank*) ccccxiii ²
- (22)] 'wd viiii 'y yzdgryd o cccclxxx 'wd viii
- (23)](y)d ³ tswg o 'wd h'n 'yg m'h xx 'wd
- (24)](mb)y d ⁴ oo xw[mn'](h) . . . ⁵ .š(y)r(w)(c) [] ⁶
- (25) cc]lxxxviii rtw
- (26) cclxxx]viii r(tw)

Translation

- (1) and three-fifths.⁷ Nōgrōč on Tuesday, Xumna ⁸ [

¹ Handwriting of the later Manichæan type.—[restored], (doubtful) or (damaged) letters, see *BSOAS.*, xi, 56.

² Written in another hand. ³ Restore : [x + bwnmrg 'yg xwrxš]yd ?

⁴ Restore : [x pnjwg o nwgrwc iii š]mbyd ? ⁵ Possibly (rwc).

⁶ Read and restore : (m)š(y)r(w)c [pncšmbyd] ?

⁷ End of the "*bwnmarag*" (basic number ?) of the moon.

⁸ Name of the second day of each Sogdian month.

| | The "New God" of | (first | on | | | |
|------|--|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|------|
| | Sogd. month | wkday.) | Sogd. day | wkday. | daytime | hour |
| (2) | i | Tu. | 10 | Th. | day | |
| (3) | ii | Th. | 10 | Sat. | night | |
| (4) | iii | Sat. | 9 | Sun. | day | |
| (5) | iv | Mon. | 9 | Tu. | night | |
| (6) | v | Wed. | 8 | Wed. | day | |
| (7) | vi | Fr. | 8 | Fr. | night | |
| (8) | vii | Sun. | 7 | Sat. | day | 5th |
| (9) | viii | Tu. | 7 | Mon. | night | |
| (10) | ix | Th. | 6 | Tu. | day | |
| (11) | x | Sat. | 6 | Th. | night | |
| (12) | xi | Mon. | 5 | Fr. | day | |
| (13) | xii | Wed. | 5 | Sun. | night | |
| (14) | [Epagomenae] | — | [4] | Mon. | day | 6th |
| (15) | [The <i>yimki</i> fasts are in this] year | | | | | |
| | No. | Sogd. month | Sogd. days | = weekdays | | |
| (16) | [1] | [9] ¹ | 19 and 20 | Mon. and Tu. | | |
| (17) | [2] | [10] | 5 and 6 | Wed. and Th. | | |
| (18) | [3] | [10] | 19 and 20 | [Wed. and Th.] | | |
| (19) | [4] | [11] | 12 and [13] | Fr. and Sat. | | |
| (20) | [5] | [12] | 8 and [9] | Wed. and Th. | | |
| (21) |] | | 413 ² | | | |
| (22) |] and nine of Yezdegerd, 388 ³ | | | | | |
| (23) |] a quarter. ⁴ And that ⁵ of the moon twenty and | | | | | |
| (24) |] . . . ⁶ . Xumna-roč (and) Miši-roč [are Thursdays ?] ⁷ | | | | | |
| (25) | | | |] [2]88 <i>ratus</i> ⁸ | | |
| (26) | | | |] [2]88 <i>ratus</i> | | |

¹ The months (whose names are not preserved in the MS.) are found by calculation.

² Here begins the preamble to the description of the year which followed the year dealt with in lines 1-20. The purport of the number 413 which was written by a different scribe is not clear. It may refer to an era (era of *Šād-Ōrmīzd*?).

³ I thought at first that this number represented the *bunmarag* of the sun, but it could hardly precede the words *bunmrg 'yg xwrššyd* for which space is available only at the beginning of line 23. One thus has to assume that 388 is the year of an era whose name unfortunately is lost.

⁴ Restore: [name of an era + the basic number of the sun is].

⁵ = *bunmarag*.

⁶ Restore: [several fifths. *Nōgrōč* on Wednes]day.

⁷ Restoration doubtful. *Miši-rōč* (reading very uncertain), the sixteenth day, would be the same weekday as *Xumna-rōč*. The purpose of giving the weekdays of the second and sixteenth days of the year is not clear. It should have sufficed to give the weekday of the first day (*Nōgrōč*). But those days may have been feastdays.

⁸ Here began the list of the "New Gods" for the year described in lines 21-4. The possible numbers of *ratus* are 00, 72, 144, 216, and 288; hence 88 should be restored to 288. The whole line could be restored as follows: [*n'wšrδyc iv byynwy o mnsṣnd rwcyy o iv šmbyd 'xšpy'h o vmyk 'jmn'y'h cc]lxxviii rtw* = [The "New God" of month *Nausarδič*, the first day of which is a Wednesday, on the day of *Mansṣand* = 29th day, a Wednesday, in the sixth hour of the night,] after 288 *ratus* (on the 28th, 11.48 p.m.). From this the number of *ratus* could easily be



A TABLE OF THE MANICHÆAN FASTS
T ii D 66 (a), *Recto* page.

[$\frac{1}{5}$ nat. size

No. 2

T ii D 66 (a). Badly damaged book-leaf. Little can be read on the *recto* page. Handwriting of the later Manichæan type. Distribution of *recto* and *verso* is certain by the appearance of the interior margin. No whole lines are missing.

Recto (Plate XIV)

- (1)] (*weak traces*)
 (2)] jmny['] '
 (3) (*left blank*)
 (4)]y oo ooo oo
 (5) ''p['n](ž) [m'xyy oo](z)[mw](x)[tw](γ) ['tyy mn](s)[p](n)d
 (r)[w](cyy) [oo iv](pnž)[šmb]δyy
 (6) βwγc m]'xyy [oo] γwš '[tyy] δy(š)[cy rwcyy oo ''δyng 'tyy
 šm](bδ)[yy]
 (7)](y) oo [βwγc m]'xyy oo (sm'n) 'tyy (zm)wx(tw)γ r[wcyy oo
 ''δyng] 'tyy (š)[mbδyy]
 (8) [*about* 8 +]yy(mk)[yy oo myš]βwγc [m'x](yy) oo (r'm) ('tyy)
 [w']t r[wc](yy) [oo] i 'tyy ii šmb[δyy]
 (9) [*about* 6 + yym](ky)y oo jymtyc m'x[yy oo] srwš 'tyy [ršn
 rwcyy oo ']'δyng 'tyy šmbδyy
 (10-12) (*left blank*)

Verso

- (13) γ'w srδ ' [*about* 15 + yz]dygy[rδ
 (14) bwnmrg 'y m'h .[. pn]j[w]g'n oo n[wgrwc ''δyng
 (15) n'wsrδyc βγnwyy oo ''[š δy]šc[yy rwcyy] oo (')['δyn]g xš[p' oo
 (16) xwrjnyc βγnwyy oo (mrt't) rwcyy oo š[mbδ] m[yδyy oo
 '](št)myk [jmny' oo
 (17) nys[nyc] (βγ)[nwyy] oo (mrt)['t rwcyy]oo ii šmbδ xšp[' o]o
 ('štm)[yk jmny' oo
 (18) [p]s(')[kyc βγnwyy oo 'rt]'t rwcyy oo iii š[mb]δ myδyy oo
 'št[myk jmny' oo
 (19) [šn'xntyc] βγnwyy oo 'r(t)['t]rwcyy oo pnž šmbδ xšp' oo
 'štmyk jmny']
 (20) (x)[z'n]'nc βγ[nwyy] oo sp[nd]'rmt rwcyy oo ''δ[yn]g myδyy oo
 'š[tmy]k [j]mny[' oo]
 (21) βγk'nc βγnwyy oo [spnd'rm](t) [rw]cyy oo i šmbδ xšp' oo
 ix-myk j[mny'

restored in the table on the *recto* page, e.g. in line 8 it should be "fifth hour 72 *ratus* (passed)". A slight difficulty is provided by the absence of a number of *ratus* at the end of line 14. One would expect: 144 *ratus*. There are two possibilities: either the number was put at the beginning of line 15 (contrary to the scribe's normal procedure), or the year dealt with in lines 21 sqq. is not the year which followed the year described in lines 1-20.

- (22) "p'nc βγnwyy oo xš(yw)[r rw](c)[yy] oo ii šmb[δ my]δyy oo
ix-myk jmn(y')[oo
(23) βwyc βγnwyy oo xšywr rwcy y oo iv[šmb](δ) xšp' oo ix-myk
jmnŷ(') [oo] (ii)[cxxxxx]xx(xx)vii[i r](tw xr)[tyh]
(24) myšβwyc βγnwyy oo 'rt'wxwšt rwcy y oo pnžšmbδ my[δyy] oo
ix-myk (j)[mny' oo i]i(c)[xxxxxxxxxviii rtw xr](ty)h

Translation

- (1-2) (end of a list of the "New Gods").
(4) [The *yimki* fasts in this year]

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| | No. | Sogd. month | Sogd. days | = weekdays |
| (5) | [1] | 8 | 28 and 29 | [Wed.] and Th. |
| (6) | [2] | [9] | 14 and 15 | [Fr. and Sat.] |
| (7) | [3] | [9] | 27 and 28 | [Fr. and Sat.] ¹ |
| (8) | 4 | 10 | 21 and 22 | Sun. and Mon. |
| (9) | 5 | 11 | 17 and [18] | Fr. and Sat. |

(10-12) (Left blank)
(13) Cow year² of Yezdegerd
(14) The basic number of the moon is fifths, Nōgrōč is [Friday . . .

| | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------|---------|-------|---------------------------|
| | The "New God" of | on | | | |
| | Sogd. month | Sogd day = wkday. | daytime | hour | <i>ratus</i> ³ |
| (15) | i | 8 | [Fr.] | night | [8th] [72] |
| (16) | ii | 7 | Sat. | day | 8th [72] |
| (17) | iii | 7 | Mon. | night | 8th [216] |
| (18) | iv | 6 | Tu. | day | 8th [216] |
| (19) | [v] | 6 | Th. | night | [8] [o'clock] |
| (20) | vi | 5 | Fr. | day | 8 [o'clock] |
| (21) | vii | [5] | Sun. | night | 9th [144] |
| (22) | viii | 4 | Mon. | day | 9th [144] |
| (23) | ix | 4 | Wed. | night | 9th 288 |
| (24) | x | 3 | Th. | day | 9th 2[88] |

No. 3

M 147. Nearly completely preserved book-leaf. Handwriting of the late Manichæan type. Text not written in form of a table.

¹ No other restoration seems to fit the existing traces. I am assuming that the author of these tables made a slight mistake in calculating. He ought to have written: "Thursday and Friday."

² Here begins the treatment of the year which followed immediately upon the year dealt with in lines 1-9. This is confirmed by the dates given for the lunar phases. For example, in the first year the New Light fell on the 14th or 15th of the 9th month (line 6), while in the second year it fell on the 4th of the ninth month (line 23). This is the correct interval for successive years.

³ The number of *ratus* is preserved only for the 9th and 10th months, but can be found by calculation for the other months. See above, p. 150, n. 8. The lunations are 29 d. 12 h. 144 *ratus* (= 24 min.) and 29 d. 12 h. in strict alternation. "9th hour 288 *ratus* passed" means 8.48. "Wednesday night" is the night before Wednesday. Hence "Wednesday night 9th hour 288 *ratus* passed" means: Wednesday, 2.48 a.m. Note that "eighth hour" (without *ratus*) means the full hour = 8 o'clock.

Recto (1) βγγγ nwyꝑ xwr rwcyꝑh i (2) šmbδyy pr myδδ 'tyh (3) (')ftmcyk jmny' cc (4) lxxxviii rtww xrtꝑh (5) oo oo šn'xntyc m'x (6) nwyꝑ xwr rwcyꝑ iii šmbδyy (7) 'xšpy' δβtyk jmny'h (8) lxxii rtww xrtꝑh oo oo (9) xz'n'ne βγγγ nwyꝑ "pwx (10) rwcyꝑ iv šmbδyy pr my[δδ] (11) δβtyk jmny' lxxii (12) rtww xrtꝑh oo oo (13) βγk'ne m'x nwyꝑ "pwx (14) rwcyꝑ "dyn' 'xšpy'h (15) [δ](βt)[yk] (j)mny' ccx[vi] (16) [rtww xrtꝑ](h) oo oo (17) ["p'n](c) m'x nwyꝑ "š (18) [rwcyꝑ] (š)mbδyy pr myδδ (19) ['t](y)h δβtyq jmny'h (*Verso*) (20) ccxvi rtww xrtꝑh (21) oo βwꝑyc (22) m'x nwyꝑ "š rwcyꝑh (23) ii šmbδyy 'xšpy'h (24) 'tyh δβtyk jmny'h (25) oo oo myšβwꝑyc (26) m'x nwyꝑ "š δšcyh (27) (r)wcyꝑ iii šmbδyh (28) [p](r) myδδ δβtyk jmny' (29) oo oo jymtyc (30) βγγγ nwyꝑ "š δšcyh (31) rwcyꝑ pncšmbδyh (32) 'xšpy' o štyk jmny'h (33) cxxxxiii rtww xrtꝑh (34) oo oo xšw[myc] (35) βγynwyꝑ mrt'[t rwcyꝑ] (36) "dyn' pr myδδ [štyk] (37) jmny' cxxxxii[i rtww] (38) xrtꝑh oo oo

Translation

| The "New God" ¹ of | is on | | | | <i>ratus</i> |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------|--------|--------------|
| Sogd. month | Sogd. day = wkday. | daytime | hour | passed | |
| [iv] | 11 | Sun. | day | 1st | 288 |
| v | 11 | Tu. | night | 2nd | 72 |
| vi | 10 | Wed. | day | 2nd | 72 |
| vii | 10 | Fr. | night | 2nd | 216 |
| viii | 9 | Sat. | day | 2nd | 216 |
| ix | 9 | Mon. | night | 2 | o'clock |
| x | 8 | Tu. | day | 2 | o'clock |
| xi | 8 | Th. | night | 3rd | 144 |
| xii | 7 | Fr. ² | day | 3rd | 144 |

No. 4

M 796. Heavily damaged double book-leaf. The lower half of the leaf published here is missing. The other leaf (not given here) contains the fragment of an astronomical treatise (on lunar and solar years). Handwriting of the older Manichæan type. Text not written in form of a table.

Recto (1) [iii] šmbδyy pr m[yδδ] (2) [oo] oo "p'ncm[']xyy (3) [βγγγ] nwyꝑ xwmn' rwc (4) [pnc] šmbδyy xšp'^{sic} (5) oo oo βwꝑyc m'xy (6) βγγγ nwyꝑ x(wr)[m](z)[t] rw(c) (7) "dyng pr m[yδδ oo oo] (8) myš(β)[wꝑyc m'xyy] (*six lines missing*)

Verso (9) [βγγγ] nwyꝑ mnspnd (r)[wc] (10) (p)[n]c šmbδyy pr

¹ The manuscript has βγγγ nwyꝑ "New God" four times, and m'x nwyꝑ "New Moon" five times.

² "dyn", "dyn'h, also spelt (historically) "dyng, is borrowed from Persian (or late Middle Persian) as are the other names of the weekdays. Cf. Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 198 [174] sqq., *BBB.*, 85 sq. The use by Manichæans of a form corresponding with Persian *âdîne* does not favour the view that *âdîne* was a purely Muslimic term. More likely it was pre-Muslimic.

[myδδ] (11) oo oo xyδ γ'w (s)[rδyy] (12) xwrmzt' βγ[yy ymky y ?]
 (13) βwγc m'xyy (γ)[w](š) 'ty (14) δšc[yy rw]c pnc šmbδy (15) ['ty
 ''δyng oo oo (16) [mrysyzn ? ym](kyy) myš

*Translation*¹

| The "New God" of Sogd. month | is on Sogd. day = wkday. | daytime |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|
| [vii] | [2] Tu. | day |
| viii | 2 Th. | night |
| ix | 1 Fr. | day |
| x | [1] [Sun.] | [night] |
| [second in x] | [30] [Mon.] | [day] |
| [xi] | [30] [Wed.] | [night] |
| [xii] | 29 Th. | day |

In this Cow year the [Yimki] of God Khurmazda is in the month of βōγč on the days of γōš and δišci (= 14. and 15.9.), respectively a Thursday and a Friday. [The Yimki of Mar Sisin is in the month of] Miš[βōγč, . . .]²

No. 5

M 197. Fragment of a double-leaf. Older Manichæan handwriting. One folio (not given here) contains Middle Persian hymns of no interest. The other folio contains a liturgical text. Of the *recto* page only inconsiderable traces remain; several beginnings of Persian and Parthian hymns are cited (cf. the texts *c* and *d* published in *BBB.*, 45 sqq.); it is not worth while to print them. Only the text of the *verso* page is given here.

(1) jyy pty'm(s)[t o] (2) c'(nw) βγγy nwy y šq(r)[tyy ?] (3) wβ't o pr myhr m'x jm[nw] (4) mrysyzn ymgyy βwt o (5) 'ty fr'kcynyy c'nw n'f (6) ['](n)wznd o 'ftmy^{stc} n'(fs)r (7) ršt(')[w](c)'ry[x '](t)[y . . .]ny³ (8) 'qt(yy) γwt o 'tym[s] δynyy (9) mzyx [b]wtyšt(y)[y '](t)[y]h (10) [p]š'[bwtytyy (11) p . . [(12)]srδnng

Translation

. . . . is finished. When the "New God" is accomplished (??), on Sunday and Monday, the Mār Sisin Yimki takes place. In the morning when the people assemble, it is necessary to comfort and . . . the people in the beginning. Also, the great Buddhas (= apostles) of the Church, and the "after-Buddhas" the chief. . . .

¹ With restorations (in square brackets) for the missing portion of the table.

² The text presumably continued: "on the first and second days, a Sunday and a Monday." The interval between Full Moon and New Light is seventeen days here (sixteen in Nos. 1 and 2). Actually, the "New God" took place in the night following the 30th day of the 9th month.

³ Restore: [nm]ny?

No. 6

Caption in a collection of Parthian stories (M 44): j'yd'nyy m'hjmnwy' prßyrc[= "to be told on Ĵaidan¹ Monday".

No. 7

Two sentences from the Sogdian edition of the Manichæan Missionary History. A = TM 389a R 23 sqq., B = TM 389c 26 sqq. Sogdian writing. (A) rpt's'r ZK kßryγß rm γypδty m(r)l'zty pr] xiv sytyh pr ymkw ZY pr ''ßrywnh ['wšt't] rty pnt ßy'r'k c'nkW ZY ZK 'yšw stty rt[y ZK] kßryγß pt'yey 'yšw pr ''ßrywnh 'wšt'[t] rtšw w'nkW pt'yškwy "Thereupon, on the fourteenth,² Gabriab and his assistants stood in supplication and prayer. And near nightfall when Jesus (= moon) rose, Gabriab stood before Jesus in prayer and spoke thus to him . . .".

(B) rty ywnyδ ZK mr'tt' pr ymkw ZY ''ßrywnh 'wšt't rty kw ßr'yšt'kw s'r pt'yškwy w'nkW ZY cymyδ wnγrš ''z'nt ßyr'n "And without delay Mār Adda stood in supplication and prayer, and spoke to the Apostle: how can I find the spell that will save me from this ? . . .".

In both these passages *ymkw* (here translated as "supplication") is apparently the accusative of *ymkyy* (= nominative and genitive-dative). Cf. also *y²mk²* in Turkish runes (quoted *BBB.*, p. 139), and the *ymg'nyg rwc'n* "days of Yimki-prayers" in the fragment *S*³ (cf. *BSOS.*, viii, p. 588).

NOTES BY S. H. TAQIZADEH

Dr. Henning asked me to add some notes to his very interesting article about Sogdian fragments on the calendar, which, as it appears, are related to the Manichæan system. I readily agreed to comply

¹ Presumably = Uyγur "čaidan" in the Khwastwanift, according to a suggestion made by me in *BBB.*, p. 9 = *Bema*. The Bema Monday was probably the Monday which was closest to the day of the Bema, preferably the Monday preceding Bema (Mani died on a Monday).

² Viz. of a Babylonian month, when the moon was full.

³ Its table of contents may help in establishing the beneficiaries of the Yimki-prayers. After the Manichæan gospels we find mentioned texts relating to (1) Ohrmizd, (2) Mār Sisin, (3) Jesus, (4) the community of the *Electi*. For the first two this agrees with the order of the fasts as established in this article. It is indeed likely that Jesus was included in the number of the great martyrs. If we assume that the "community of the *Electi*" has replaced the "Three Presbyters", we would gain the following order of the Yimki fasts: (1) *Primus Homo*, (2) Mār Sisin, (3) Jesus, (4) Three Presbyters, (5) Mani (together seven Yimkis and five fasts).

with his wishes, although my contribution could hardly go beyond conjecture, especially in relation to the possible and sometimes probable dates of the different fragments. Apart from the question of the dates there are a few further points on which also I venture to advance an opinion, that is again only a conjecture.

I propose to take the fragments in the numerical order given to them by Dr. Henning and deal with each of them accordingly.

The Dates

(1) Fragment No. 1, of which the translation is given above on p. 150, can belong either to the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 837 (206 of the era of Yazdegerd) or more probably to A.D. 984 (A.Y. 353). It would take us far afield to give here in detail the reasons for this conjecture. I can only say that the particulars given in the fragment, namely the weekday of New Year's Day, the position of the new moon in each of the Sogdian months and the position of the supposed *Yimki* fasts which ought to correspond to the middle (full moon) of the Babylonian month Kānūn I (or the middle of the eleventh Turco-Chinese month as we will see), the first day (New Light) of Kānūn II (or the new moon of the twelfth Chinese month), the middle (full moon) of the same Babylonian month (or the middle of the same twelfth Chinese month), the 8th day of the Babylonian Shabat (or in the intercalary years with two Adārs the 8th Adār I) and the 4th Adār (or in the intercalary years with two Adārs the 4th of Adār II) = 9th or 10th of the first and the 5th or 6th of the second of the Chinese months respectively, cannot fit in any year of the first four centuries of the Yazdegerdian era except in the two above-mentioned years (984 and 837). The same reason applies with more or less certainty to the dates proposed for the other fragments here below.

(2) The passage at the end of the same paragraph discussed above (1) is difficult to explain. It can hardly relate to the following year, which must be assumed if the passage was a continuation of the foregoing table, because the following year, according to our conjecture, must have been either 207 or 354 A.Y.; but neither of them is a number ending with 9. I am also unable to suggest any explanation as to either of the two numbers (413 and 388). Dr. Henning's conjecture with regard to the first number (413)—that it may refer to the era beginning with the year in which Shād Ōrmīzd, the great Manichæan leader, died—though ingenious,

does not accord easily with the data obtained from “*Mahrnāmag*” where the 162nd year from the death of this prominent Manichæan leader is made to correspond with the 546th year of the birth of Mānī. This implies that the year of Shād Ūrmīzd’s death began in A.D. 600, should Mānī’s birth have occurred in A.D. 216, or in 601 if the founder of the religion was born in the early part of A.D. 217. Therefore the year A.D. 985 would be the 384th or 385th of the death of Shād Ūrmīzd. This last date is of course nearer to the second number in the fragment, i.e. 388. A mistake of three years in the calculation of the later composers of the tables for older times would not be surprising. We find similar mistakes in the Uyghur Manichæan Calendar fragment (Rahmati No. 9) where the Yazdegerdi date 358 is given as a mouse year, which in fact must be 357, as the year A.Y. 358 was certainly a cow year.

(3) The first part of Fragment No. 2, if it is a list of the Manichæan *Yimki* fasts, might fit in the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 878 provided that the second part which follows it does not necessarily relate to the year immediately succeeding it, for the year 879 does not correspond to the cow year. But if the two years were consecutive, the only other possible conjecture would be to suppose that this first part (with *Yimki* table) relates to the Sogdian year beginning in the year A.D. 1000 (A.Y. 369). The latter year accords in all particulars, as (a) the year fits with the mouse year, while the succeeding year was a cow year, which began on the 23rd January, 1001 (A.Y. 370); but the fasts would then curiously fall one full month behind their usual position in the Babylonian months (this point will be discussed further below); (b) the position of the new moon in the Sogdian months in the following Sogdian year which began in A.D. 1001 conforms with those given in the table that follows the *Yimkis* (those of the cow year); (c) the New Year’s Day of this latter Sogdian year was a Friday.

(4) Fragment No. 3 relates most probably to the Sogdian year corresponding to A.D. 931–2 (A.Y. 300). The reason for this judgment is similar to that explained in No. (1), though in the present case the equation of the new moon days and the weekdays is not a sufficient reason for the date suggested being necessarily exclusive.

(5) Fragment No. 4 relates almost certainly to the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 929 (A.Y. 298), which also corresponded to a cow year of the duodenary animal cycle of the Chinese system, except for its last three months which fell in a tiger year. The

[*Yimki* of Ormizd] (the first fast) here corresponds nearly to the 14th of the Babylonian Kānūn I, or, more exactly, to the 14th day of the eleventh Chinese month.

(6) Fragment No. 5 can relate to the same year as Fragment No. 4 if the Mār Sisin *Yimki* was really the second of the two-day fasts, which always corresponded to the New Light of the Babylonian Kānūn II or to the new moon of the twelfth Chinese month. This latter day was, in A.D. 930, a Sunday falling on the first day of the tenth Sogdian month (3rd January, A.D. 930).

If the suggested dates are correct all the tables in the fragments will be found to relate to a space of time equal to six Turkish duodenary cycles, i.e. seventy-two years (A.D. 929–1001).

Miscellaneous

Now here are a few supplementary notes relating to the different points involved in the question of the Manichæan fasts :—

(a) The dates of the “New God”, or the beginning of the lunar month in the tables of Fragments Nos. 3 and 4 (according to the numerical order of Dr. Henning’s article), correspond to the new moon rather than to the New Light, that is to say they do not correspond strictly to the first day of the Babylonian months, but they correspond exactly with the first day of the Chinese and Turkish months. The same is true of the dates of the *Yimkis* in different fragments, i.e. they do not correspond with the 14th and 15th day of the Babylonian Kānūn I, the first day of Kānūn II, the 14th or 15th day of the same month, the 8th of Shabat, and the 4th of Adār, as expected, but they are as a rule one or two days in advance (earlier), and hence they correspond exactly with the middle and the beginning, and again the middle and the 8th and the 4th day of the eleventh, twelfth, first, and second of the Chinese months respectively.

(b) The two consecutive dates suggested for the tables in Fragment No. 2 (the *Yimki* table and the new moon table) are, of all the years from the first down to the 370th year A.Y. (A.D. 632–1000) the only two consecutive years conforming to those conditions given in the tables, namely the places of the fasts in the year, the position of the new moon in the Sogdian months and the second year in the animal cycle (cow year).

(c) An interesting point is that the dates of the *Yimkis* (or Manichæan fasts) in different *Yimki* tables are not consistent, for

while the position of *Yimkis* in Fragments Nos. 1 and 4 (assuming that the dates suggested are correct) correspond quite nearly to the Babylonian dates of the fasts (i.e. the full moon or the 14th and 15th of Kānūn I, the 1st and 2nd of Kānūn II, the middle of the same month or full moon, the 8th and 9th of Shabat and the 3rd and 4th of Adār ; or rather more exactly to the 14th and 15th of the eleventh, to the 1st and 2nd of the twelfth, to the 14th and 15th of the same, to the 8th and 9th of the first and to the 3rd and 4th of the second Chinese months), the dates of the *Yimkis* in Fragment No. 2 differ widely from these positions and are a whole month behind. They are in the middle of the tenth, the beginning and the middle of the eleventh, the 8th day of the twelfth and the 4th day of the first Chinese month. This peculiarity cannot be explained by supposing an earlier date for the table, e.g. some year in the second part of the ninth century (perhaps somewhere around A.D. 865), because although the position of the *Yimkis* alone might fit with such a date, the other particulars of the whole of this fragment, considered together, do not fit with any year except A.D. 1000, as stated above. If the data in Dr. Henning's hand be free of any doubt, the only possible, though perhaps not easily acceptable, explanation may be found in the following theory put forward just as a possibility :—

We may assume that the Manichæan community of Central Asia after some time, perhaps after the severance of their connection with Babylonia, the original centre of the religion, adopted, in the arrangement of their religious calendar, the Turco-Chinese system (the local calendar of their country) and substituted the Chinese months for the Babylonian.¹ The difference between the two calendars, which corresponded exactly to each other except in a very small divergence as to the beginning of the months, did not interfere much with the right time of the observance of religious duties. The divergence consisted in the Babylonian calendar having been based on the New Light for the beginning of the lunar months and the Chinese system being based on the New Moon. Therefore the difference was only one day, or sometimes two days. Otherwise, in spite of the difference in the place of the intercalary months in

¹ Was the difference of one day as to the beginning of fasts (*bāchāg*) between two parties of Bakhshis in the Mongol period attested by Nasir ad-din Tūsi (see my excursus in *BSOS.*, xi, 1, p. 48), a trace of a dispute between two Manichæan parties of whom one, the conservatives, kept to the orthodox Babylonian reckoning as regards the times of the fasts and the other used the Turco-Chinese reckoning ?

the two calendars the correspondence of the months and the days was always complete. Thus the Manichæans of Central Asia may have arranged the times of their fasts instead of (1) two days in the middle of the Babylonian month Kānūn I (full moon), (2) two days in the beginning of Kānūn II, (3) two days in the middle of the same month, and (4) one month beginning on the 8th of Shabat and ending on the 8th of Adār (or in intercalary years with two Adārs beginning on the 8th of Adār I and ending on the 8th of Adār II), in the following order: (1) in the middle of the eleventh Chinese month, (2) in the beginning of the twelfth Chinese month, (3) in the middle of the same month, (4) 30 days (or 29) beginning on the 8th day of the first Chinese month (quarter moon). The last two fasts of two days each fell therefore in the beginning and 26th–27th of the fast month (i.e. on the 8th and the 9th of the first Chinese month and on the 4th and 5th of the second Chinese month, the Bema coming on the 8th day of the latter). As stated above, the two series of dates (Babylonian and Chinese) corresponded always with each other except in a difference of one or two days due to the difference of the times of the phases of the new moon and the New Light, the Chinese date being by so much earlier than the Babylonian. Now the implication of the above-mentioned advance of thirty days of the *Yimkis* in A.D. 1000, as compared with their usual position in the year (if their position is given correctly by the author of the fragment and is not due to a mistake in working out by backward calculation), may be that towards the end of the tenth century, owing to an unknown reason,* this Manichæan community put the periods of their fasts one month back, and thus arranged them in the middle of the 10th, the beginning of the 11th, the middle of the same, and the 8th of the 12th—8th of the 1st Turco-Chinese months. If this was so it would account for giving the name of *Chaqshabat* to the twelfth Turkish month and would explain this difficult and puzzling denomination.¹ Was this shifting of the places of the fasting times in the year due to the receding of the Sogdian year and the falling of the Sogdian New Year close to (or in some years, such as A.D. 1005, exactly on) the Bema Day? If this shifting really took place then the difference in the religious calendar might have caused a greater separation of the western and eastern Manichæan communities than before, just as a difference of one month in the reckoning of the two Parsi communities in

¹ See remark (3) of the above-mentioned excursus (*BSOS.*, xi, 45–6).

India (the Shahanshahis and the Kadimis), due to the intercalation of one month carried out most probably about A.D. 1130, was the reason for the schism among the Indian Zoroastrians.

(d) In the excursus to the article on Sasanian Chronology (*BSOS.*, xi, part 1, pp. 42-51), having supposed that the beginning of the Manichæan fast of one month (the fourth fast of *al-Fihrist*) was always on the 8th Shabat, I maintained that the passage in *al-Fihrist* relating to the time of this fast must be interpreted as meaning that the *eighth day* of the lunar month on which the fasting began was in the astronomical month of Aquarius (the time of the sun's being in this Zodiacal sign), but not the *first* of that month, as otherwise the end of the fast month (which was the Bema Day) could not always fall in March as St. Augustine expressly states. But I realized later that the fast began on the 8th Shabat only in the common years, but that in the Babylonian intercalary years with two Adārs it was the 8th of Adār I on which the fast month began, and in that case it ended on the 8th (or 7th) of Adār II. Thus the beginning of the lunar month, on the 8th of which the fast began, fell always, almost without exception, after the sun's entry in Aquarius, and the end of the fast was on the 8th Adār in common years and the 8th of Adār II in intercalary years. That is to say that the Bema Day fell almost invariably in March (though it might fall very rarely on the last day or the day before the last of February). This rule was certainly true for several centuries after Mānī, until the position of the Julian month March advanced in the tropical year, and the vernal equinox, which was about the 21st of that month in the time of Mānī, receded gradually, until, for instance, it fell in the middle of the month in the tenth century. Part 2 of the above-mentioned excursus must therefore be revised in the light of this, and the supposed difficulty of the beginning of the Babylonian month (on the 8th day of which fasting began) being in Aquarius, will be thus removed. The second of the three "remarks" (Part 2) would therefore fall to the ground. Moreover, the astronomical explanation of the times of the different fasts in *al-Fihrist* conforms exactly with the arrangement of the Babylonian calendar, and if that calendar was not originally based on this combination of the lunar and solar months, it certainly corresponded with the order described by the author of *al-Fihrist*; since, for instance, the full moon of the Babylonian lunar month Kānūn II, which was the

time of the first fast, has always been (in the time of Mānī and many centuries after him) in the astronomical month of Sagittarius, and the beginning of Shabat in common years (and the beginning of Adār I in intercalary years) in Aquarius, as already stated. Thus the luni-solar definition of the position of the fasts given by an-Nadīm is in fact a good description of the Babylonian months (as Dr. Henning rightly remarks). In the Babylonian intercalary years the whole time-table of the fasts was certainly one full (Babylonian) month advanced.

(e) The number of the Manichæan fasts given in *al-Fihrist* (four), and that implied by the tables of *Yimkis* in the above Sogdian fragments (five), are not to my mind irreconcilable or conflicting with each other. The version of *al-Fihrist* relates only to the four different times of the year in which the times of the fasting, as separated from each other, fell [i.e. in common years the middle of Kānūn I, the beginning of Kānūn II, the middle of the same month (in each of which a double-day fasting took place), and the 8th Shabat–8th Adār, or one month's fasting, during which the Manichæan auditors used to fast only from sunrise to sunset (with the exception of some days therein when again double-day fasting was observed)], rather than to the order of the five double-day fasts (forty-eight hours) of which the two last were included in that last fast of one month. If on the other hand the Manichæan community (perhaps of later times) attached more particular importance to these two double-day fastings than to the rest of their fast months, and thus recorded on their tables five bigger fasts or *Yimkis*, which in Arabic can be called *Ṣawm al-wiṣāl*, and gave a table of five sets of them without mentioning the ordinary one-day fasts,¹ i.e. the remaining twenty-six days out of thirty days of the fast month, this certainly had nothing to do with the number of the disconnected periods in the year in which the fasting (of no matter what kind) took place. This must rather have meant that some of the days of the fast month were regarded by them as holier than the rest, and perhaps they spent the nights of these days in vigil (Arab. *iḥyā'*), similar to the usage of the Muslims who attach more sanctity to one of the days of Ramaḍān and pass the night preceding it in vigil. It may be interesting to mention

¹ [This difficulty can perhaps be resolved by assuming that the Sogdian calendars were for the use of monks for whom the rules of the *Čaxšapat* month brought no change.—W. B. H.]

that with the majority of Muslims (the Sunnis) this particularly sacred day is the 27th of Ramaḍān and the holy night preceding it is *lailat al-qadr*, the night in which the Koran was revealed to the Prophet and which is spent in vigil and prayer. The Muslims believe that prayers on that night will always be answered. The apparent similarity in the number (27th) to the last Manichæan *Yimki* is curious, though perhaps accidental. It was on the 27th day of the Manichæan fast month in A.D. 277 that Mānī died. This fast month began in that year on Wednesday, 31st January (8th Shabat), and Mānī died on Monday, 26th February or 27th of the fast month (4th Adār). Another curious similarity is to be found between the last Manichæan *Yimki* and the *lailat al-Qadr* of the Shi'a Muslims, who believe that the place of the holy night in the fast month is unknown; but according to their tradition it must most probably be one of the nights preceding the 19th, 21st, and 23rd of Ramaḍān, i.e. (according to the Shi'a) the day on which 'Alī, their first Imām, was fatally wounded by his assassin, the day on which he consequently died, and the third day of the death when, according to the Oriental custom, the mourning is concluded. They observe vigil and prayer on all these three nights to be sure of not missing the holy night and the right and special hour in it. The similarity is more striking as the last *Yimki* corresponds with the day of Mānī's death and the Bema with the third day of the death, i.e. the second day after it.

(f) The denomination of some of the *Yimkis* (double-day fasts) of the Manichæans after the Manichæan saints, such as Mār Sīsīn and perhaps Mānī himself, explained by Dr. Henning (as a matter of fact the *Yimkis* of Ormizd and Mār Sīsīn are mentioned in the fragments), raises a difficult question. For if this denomination was due to the fact that these *Yimki* days corresponded with the martyrdom of some of these saints, this would make the institution of these fasts by Mānī very doubtful, and would suggest their institution after the death of Mānī. But this late institution is not very likely, and the assumption of these fasts being established by the founder of the religion seems to be more reasonable. Would it not be permissible to suppose that only the last two *Yimkis*, which are not mentioned in *al-Fihrist*, were instituted by the faithful and the leaders of the religion after the death of Mānī, in commemoration of the beginning and the end of his suffering, i.e. his imprisonment and his martyrdom, and that the source of the version

of *al-Fihrist* (which omits to mention these two double-day fasts) was the original book of Mānī himself? The same can be inferred also from Dr. Henning's ingenious suggestion to the effect that the interval between the fourth and fifth *Yimkis* (or the fourth and fifth double-day fasts), namely twenty-six days, "represents the twenty-six days of Mānī's suffering," as this supposition would again make it probable that the two double-day fasts included in the fast month and omitted by *al-Fihrist* really were of later foundation, instituted, as stated above, in commemoration of the first and last days of Mānī's suffering in prison.

(g) The length of the lunar year of the Manichæans of Central Asia was (according to what is inferred from the above tables) 354 days 2 hours and 24 minutes. The basis of this year is unknown to me. It is not based on the Chinese calculation, as the Chinese lunar year is believed to be 354 d. 8 h. 48 m. 36 s. It is perhaps interesting to note that ten Sogdian years are exactly equal to ten Manichæan lunar years + 109 days, and hence every 3,650 lunar years = 3,541 Sogdian years strictly.

In working out the above chronological points I used for my calculations: *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln*, by R. Schram, and *Hilfstafeln zur Technischen Chronologie*, by P. V. Neugebauer.

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The Sogdian Texts of Paris

By W. B. HENNING

IT would be a happier occasion to be able to announce the completion of the publication of all the Sogdian manuscripts that Sir Aurel Stein and M. Paul Pelliot secured from the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" at Tun-huang, were not this consummation overshadowed by the death of P. Pelliot, who has now followed Sir Aurel Stein after so brief an interval. The Sogdian MSS., which he entrusted to the care of the Bibliothèque Nationale, were believed lost for a number of years, but rediscovered by M. Filliozat in 1936. We cannot but admire the speed with which M. Benveniste has made them available to the public. As early as the spring of 1940 photographic reproductions of superb quality were published by Ejnar Munksgaard in Copenhagen¹; a few copies of this facsimile edition reached this country before communications were interrupted. A few weeks later M. Benveniste's monumental edition,² comprising the transliteration, an excellent translation, a commentary of greatest learning which abounds in veritable pearls of linguistic notes,³ and a very full glossary which will make the publication of a Sogdian dictionary nearly superfluous, appeared in Paris, too late, however, for us to obtain the book; we had to curb our impatience until at long last, in September, 1945, we received this immensely valuable volume, through the kindness of the author and the good offices of the British Council.

The majority of these Sogdian manuscripts contain Buddhist texts, mostly translated from Chinese originals. For their identification we are indebted to M. Demiéville, whose collaboration has greatly benefited the edition. Of the non-Buddhist texts special mention is due to the fragment of the *Tale of Rustam* (P 13), which immediately precedes the fragment in the Stein collection⁴; the small medical fragment (P 19) which contains three prescriptions, one each for an emetic (*'nyyznykh*), a purgative (*mrznykh*),⁵ and an aphrodisiac (*cnn pcw'z'k pδβ'zn*); and the twice repeated short Manichæan⁶ invocation,

¹ *Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Maioris*, ed. K. Grønbech. Vol. iii, *Codices Sogdiani. Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Mission Pelliot), reproduits en fac-similé, avec une introduction par E. Benveniste.*

² *Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, série in-quarto, vol. iii, Textes Sogdiens, édités, traduits et commentés par E. Benveniste.* P. Geuthner, 1940.

³ A worthy specimen of their quality is the explanation of ἀκράκης (p. 202).

⁴ See *BSOAS.*, XI, 465, n. 2.

⁵ In translation: "Take three drams of cummin (*zyr'kk*), three of *Ipomœa turpethum*, and three times as much sugar as (both) those drugs together. Pound it finely, mix it with hydromel, give it to drink. It purges all impurities, is useful in all illnesses. Should it purge too much, drink *pt'pch*, it will cease." *δρυμδnk* = *δραχμηθang* corresponds to Persian *diramsang*. *kpčky* in line 7 is "spoonful" (= Pers. *kafče*); *βtskpyc* (8) = Skt. *vatsakabija*; *wšny'spy* (20) = stallion (Pers. *gušn*); *my't* (9) read *my'wn*.

⁶ Not recognized as such by the editor. It belongs to the *Wazrgān āfrīwan*: cf. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, p. 71.

P 25, a learner's first attempt at writing Sogdian, full of mistakes.¹ The shamanist rain-maker's handbook, P 3, a Central Asian rather than Indian production, contains a number of Iranian terms not found in Buddhist texts, as *Upāpō Gandarawō*,² *Haft Kišvar*, *wāt artāw*, etc., and mentions such typically Central Asian objects of magic as the rain-stones,³ sheep's shoulder-blade,⁴ etc. Of great value is the colophon of P 8, with its long lists of personal names. In view of the interest that attaches to everything connected with the "Tokharians", it should be pointed out that the name of the painter⁵ of P 26 is not *twryrk* "Tokharian", but *twryrl* = *Toyril* (a common Turkish name).

The impossibility of obtaining M. Benveniste's admirable work compelled a careful study of the photographic reproductions; with his edition on one's table one would have considered it a waste of time to take a copy of the photographs. What was a nuisance in the past can now be turned to some profit; for the circumstances assure a greater independence in the reading of the MSS. than could have been attained otherwise. It may thus seem not wholly useless to record those passages where my reading or understanding differ from M. Benveniste's. The intention of going through the whole of these texts had to be abandoned, for personal reasons, for the time being; it is hoped to complete this study in a later number of the *Bulletin*.⁶

P 2

Of all Sogdian texts this is the dullest. Its author needs over 1,200 lines to tell us that we should not eat meat. It is badly composed, worse translated, and the scribe was negligent.

¹ 'nyw (ZY) nyk in both copies stands for 'BYW (ZY) ny'k. In both read *rštw* instead of *nštw*. In ii, line 2, read *zrw*, line 3 *rwyšnt*; "bryty 'yš at the end is a mistake for "brytyt "... to the King of Gods, the Great King God Zrwān, who is the father and grandfather of all Light Gods. Praised and blessed art thou, together with the great Light World, (and) the Blessed Aions."

² Cf. also *BSOAS.*, XI, 482, n. 3.

³ See *ibid.*, 465, n. 2. The "yadēi" (read *yadaēi*) of the Uygur confession prayers is a rain-stone magician rather than a snake-charmer, cf. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 84 and note; Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, iv, 438, line 60.

⁴ See below on P 3, 273.

⁵ Read *nypysw* = "I painted" in the place of *nypyšw*.

⁶ Of articles, etc., concerning Sogdian that were published in Europe during war-time, the following have come to our notice: A. A. Freiman, *Novaya rabota po sogdiyskomu kalendarju*, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 4 (9), 1939, 124; *Sogdiyskiy rukopisniy dokument na kože 6 B 5 iz sobraniya dokumentov s gorī Mugh*, *ibid.*, 1 (10), 1940, 99-101 [note *srtiy'n* or *sytyy'n pwt* in line 5, read *mrtiyw'k* by Freiman, = "pieces of morocco leather" = Pers. *saxtiyān*]. O. Hansen, *Berliner soghdische Texte, i, Bruchstücke einer soghdischen Version der Georgspassion (C 1), Abh. P.A.W.*, 1941, No. 10, here quoted as *Giwarḡis*; Dr. Dresden kindly presented me with a copy. M. J. Dresden, *Bibliographia sogdiana concisa, Jaarbericht No. 8 van het Voor-Aziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden, 1942, 729-734, to which should be added: A. A. Freiman, *Sogdiyskiy nadpis' iz starogo Merva*, *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vii, 1937, 296-302; *Sogdiyskiy rukopisniy dokument astrologičeskogo soderžaniya (kalendar')*, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 2 (3), 1938, 34-49 (cf. *JRAS.*, 1942, 242); *K imeni sogdiyskogo ižšida Gureka*, *ibid.*, 3 (4), 1938, 147 sq.; and my paper in *Orientalia*, viii, 1939, 87-95.

1. *wys'* probably 3rd Sing. Impf. of *wys-* "to be released, emitted", inchoative of *w'c-*, *wyt-*.

3. *prš'yδ-* "to settle down, lodge" ("and piety does not settle on him"), cf. *Tales*¹ 475, line 12. Chr. *pšyd'r-* *S.T.*, i, 52, 10. *pa(r)šīδ-* from *pari.hīda-*.

4. *nβ'nt nβ'nt* "successivement". So also 168, 1206, *Dhuta* 132, cf. *nβ'nt pyš nβ'nt* "en succession" *Dhyāna* 383. I now prefer reading *nβ'nt*, and take it to be the same word as the postposition *nβ'nt*: "attached, near, close, companion." Man. *zβnd* seems to mean "quarrel", cf. *Tales* 470.

4. *ZY* here merely stresses the preceding word, hence *nwšy* = perpetually (M.B. "crime"). For such use of *ZY* ('t, 'PZY) see lines 54, 112, 132, 143, 165, 208, 218, 240, 309, 359, 408, 433, 606, 855, 898, 964, 966, 1068; cf. also *BBB.*, 121^a.

13. M. Benveniste wants to connect the conjunction *mnt*, apparently = "while", with the negative prefix *mnt-* (see his comments on P 9, 96). This seems doubtful. I should like to mention here that Professor F. W. Thomas suggested to me that the Sogdian prefix (pronounced *mand*) could be combined with Skt. *manda-*, as in *mandabuddhi*, *mandamati*, *mandabhāgya*, etc.

35. *δm'k* "wind"? Cf. *SCE*. 153. *δm'kh'rsy* P 3, 12, recalls Uyğur *šš ig yilgä* . . . (*T.T.*, vii, 72, line 9).

36. *'spynmwh* may be a mistake for *'spymwh* = *'spymh* P 7, 61, "tumor", from *spāy-* = Skt. *śvayati*.

37. *'rsy*, also P 3, 12, but spelt *'rs'ny* P 3, 10, 11, is *arsa(n)χ* from OIr. **arsah-* = Skt. *arśas-* "piles".

38. *kr'γ* I took for Skt. *grāha*, but *kr'ny* P 22, 19, is difficult; one can hardly think of Pers. *karaχ* "numb(ness)". *γwrt-snty* is "vomiting", cf. P 8, 126, and *'nyyz-* P 19, 5.

45. *ctβ'r mγ'pwydy*, also 366. M. Benveniste gives "*les 4 mahābodhis*", but does not explain this unusual term. It seems that the *elements* are meant, which number either four or five, viz. earth, water, fire, air, and sometimes ether. Hence = *catvāri mahābhūtāni* as in *Mahāvvyutpatti* 101, 1 (but *pañca m.*, e.g. *Dharmasaṃgraha* 39).

53. *zβ'yr'kh* and the related forms discussed in comm. on P 13, 8, should be read *nβ'yr-* as unpublished Man. texts spell *nβyr-*. The meaning seems to be "counsel". In P 12, 64, 67, *nβ'yr* is imperative, "take counsel with your friends, etc.", *prw nβ'yr* "in order to consult, deliberate".

57. *'pw* is perhaps to be read *'kw* = in what way (lit. "where"). Cf. 104, 621, and the comm. p. 170.

59. *'zy'm* should be read *'ny'm*, and similarly *'ny'mt-*, *'ny'ms-* "to be finished", as these words are spelt with *-n-* in unpublished Man. texts. They should be confused with neither *zy'm-* "to spend", *zy'ms-* "to be spent, wasted", nor *nyms-* "to be caught" [*sic*] P 2, 858, "to be eclipsed" P 6, 147 (here edition *nyms-*) which has *nymt-* as past tense.

¹ *Tales* = *BSOAS.*, XI, 465–487. *Kawān* = *BSOAS.*, XI, 52–74. *Gershevitch* with paragraph = I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (to be published soon).

75. *ʿrwš'ntk* is hardly the same as Man. *ʿxwšndyy* (on which see now *Tales*, 470, n. 4). “If he keeps the spirit of friendship . . . growing”? Cf. *z'wrkyn* *δ'rt* line 78.

80. *mr'z*. Is it not clear from the context that the word *Arbeit* in *BBB.*, 67, means “*travail (salaire) pour quelqu'un*”? See also *Tales*, 468, nn. 6, 9.

91. *'kwδprm* probably = as long as, however long (instead of “wherever”). Cf. also *Tales*, 476, line 4.

95. *šwt* instead of *šw'nt* is the translator's mistake. “In waylessness they walk the path of the Nirvāṇa straightly” = “although the way is invisible, they find the true path unerringly”.

109. *ptk'wnh ryzh*, lit. “wrong, perverted desires”. The original meaning of *ptk'wn-*, which has nothing to do with Av. *kavi-* (as claimed by H. H. Schaeder and M. Benveniste, cf. *JRAS.*, 1933, 55), is “upside-down”, cf. Pers. *nigūn*, etc. An interesting example of the word is contributed by Ibn Khurdādbih 284 and Qudāmah 205¹, who tell us that there was a ماء مقلوب *fleuve rétrograde* between *Ispējāb* and *Ṭarāz* whose local name was ركبواب, read بدكوناب = *padkūn-āb* = *ptk'wn-*“*ph*”. It was formed by “the thousand springs” (cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 24, 263), ارحاح or ارحاح, evidently to be read زارخاخ = *zār-χāχ* (*z'r x'x*).

139. *rwš-* “to flow” is -s- enlargement of (*h*)*rav-* = Skt. *sravati*. But *pr'wšt* P 7, 139, appears to belong to *pr'wyz-* P 12, 48, both from *frā* + *vaz-* (or *parā* + *vaz-*).

141/2. *nyδ'yeh-ptn'ym* compound adjective, “good-for-nothing, *vaut-rien*”?

144. *prn'nt*, also 213, is 3rd Sing. (*snks'r* is subject). Almost certainly to be read *prn'z-t*, cf. *n'z-* below 292.

151. *γwtm* “parent”. The derivation from OIr. *tauxma(n)-* (not, of course, from Sogdian *tym-*) is supported by the meanings of Av. *taoxman-* 2, MPers. *twhmg* (Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, 127), Parth. *twxmg* (*Mir.Man.*, iii), etc. There are three distinct words in Parthian: *twxm* “descendants, family, etc.”, *twxmn* “seed (for sowing)”, *twxmg* “relative”. On the etymology of *γwtm* *γwšt'k* see *JRAS.*, 1944, 139, n. 4.

162. *zynyh-γw'ry* I took to be a compound word = “truce-breaker”, comparing Pers. *zinhār-χ'ār* “truce-breaker”; for Pers. *zinhār*, earlier *zīnihār* (in verse always -~-, hence not *zīnhār*), is connected with Sogd. *zynyh*, cf. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents*, 93. The original meaning of the Sogdian thus could be “he that eats what is entrusted to him”, cf. *ptrq'n-xw'r* “heir”, lit. “he that eats his heritage”. Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 73, n. 3, attributes this *-xw'r* to a root *hvar-* “to receive”, but cf. Arabic *akala 'l-mīrāth* “to inherit, lit. to eat the heritage” (see Dozy, i, 31). However, we have to take into account the obviously identical Parthian term *zyn'yy xw'rg*, which occurs once in an unpublished Manichæan hymn, M 284, 156: *bst hym pt pdyn zynd'n, zyn'yy xw'rg 'by'wš u xwmryn* “I am fettered in a prison of flesh, *zyn'yy xw'rg*, unconscious, and asleep” (cf., e.g., *NGGW.*, 1932,

219 sqq.; *Mir.Man.* iii, 872, 874–5). This *xw'rg* may belong to Pers. $\chi^{\nu}\bar{a}r$ “abject, contemptible”; hence *-γw'ry* may be the same as Sogd. *γwy'r* (see below on 554) ?

165. *δ'n'ych wyγh* = roots of corn. In 1020 *δ'n'ych* is not followed by *wyγh*. Hence, *δānīc* = the plant that bears *δān*- (grain).

180. *rtyWR*, read *rty-wr*. The ideogram ‘*R* = Arsac. Inscr. ‘*L* = Pahl. ‘*L* (“*WL*”) occurs only in the addresses of the “Ancient Letters”; its Iranian equivalent is ‘*t* (see the Mugh letters). I do not know why ‘*R* is always being confused with *wr*. In Anc. Lett., ii, both words occur, ‘*R* in line 1, *wr* in lines 36, 37. A glance at Reichelt’s facsimile will show how little they resemble one another. In his *Glossaire* M. Benveniste gives “*WR sur, à (passim)*”. In fact, *wr* is not a preposition; nor is it met with continually; nor is there a reason why it should be regarded as ideogram. It occurs only at the beginning of a clause and is generally preceded by *rty* or a word to which *ZY* is attached (as *ZKZY*, ‘*HRZY*); it means “there, therein, thereby”. Cf. *VJ.*, 194, 19^b; *Vim.* 139; P 2, 270, 322; also in *Man.* (Sogd. script) *rty 'skw'yn'yty kyZY wr skw'nt* “and the inhabitants who live there” (T ii K 178). Thus *wr* = *war* from OIr. *awar* should be added to the words which H. S. Nyberg discussed in his interesting article “Un pseudo-verbe iranien et son équivalent grec” (*Symbolæ Philologicæ* O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatæ, 1932, 237–261). Cf. also Parthian ‘*wr*, *Mir.Man.*, iii (on Pers., i, 5, cf. Nyberg, p. 244; see also *BSOS.*, IX, 845).

184. *wγnh* “famine” is surely the Avestan *vōiγnā-* (both are fem.), which Geldner thought meant “inundation”; but “famine” seems to fit the Avestan texts just as well. Such shortening of a diphthong seems to occur only after *w-*, cf. *wštm'x* from **waišt-* from *wahišt-*, *wp'ne'k* against MPers. *panjak-i wēh* (*Orientalia*, viii, 90, n. 2); Pashto *wala* from *waiti-*, *χwala* from *χwaida-* (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 86, 98). As a matter of curiosity we may mention that Stig Wikander, to whom we owe already the discovery of the “arischen Männerbünde”, has now satisfied himself that *vōiγnā-* is a *Bezeichnung für das Kollektiv von Anhängern Aēšma-artiger Kulte* (*Vayu*, i, Uppsala, 1941, 140–151, esp. p. 150).

187. (ə)βžay- or (ə)βžay- is the intransitive of əβžāw-, hence from **abi.žuya-*. Cf. MPers. ‘*bzw-*: ‘*bz'y-*, Pers. *afzūyīdan* intrans. (*Mathnawī*, i, 3873 comm., cf. *Farhang-i Rašīdī*, ii, 104) beside *afzāy-* trans.

193. *p'r'yk-* “other” cannot be derived from *pr'yc-*. It is directly = MPers. ‘*b'ryg*, Pahl. ‘*p'ryk* (Av., Skt. *apara-*), and distinct from *pr'yk-* “remainder”.

193. *pr'wyy* should be *le ministre-maitre de ce roi, le brahmane nommé Mauvaise Langue* (comm., p. 171). Hence, corruption of Skt. *purohita*. Cf. Saka *pūhī* Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, 134, probably also *pūhyā* in the colophon of the Jātakastava (cf. Bailey, *Jour. Greater India Soc.*, xi, 10).

200. ‘*sp'δyh* is not clear. The spelling of βž'ysty is curious (cf. Gershevitch, § 263). The construction of βžyaθ- is different in all other passages. Read <*pr*> ‘*spyh* ?

203/6. “The Buddha was still living at that time, but this (fact) did not help those people not to become subjected to that action,” i.e. the effect of the evil deed was stronger even than the power of the Buddha.

224. *wyš* “herb, grass” (here inadvertently *feuille*, but see *Glossaire*) from *wāstrya-*, cf. Yaghnobi *wēš*, Pashto *wāṣə*, Wakhi *wiš*, Parth. *w’s*, etc. To compare Sogdian *wēš* with Middle Persian *bēš* “aconite”, as is done by P. J. de Menasce, *Škand-Gumānik-Vičār*, p. 216 (on xv, 84), shows lack of acquaintance with the basic phonological structure of either language.

237. *ptšydy* is correct, but the MS. has *ptyšydy*. *P’rZY* = “but rather” after a negation. “He does not regard it as a damaging action, but rather takes it for a satisfying one.”

241. *nw’rsty*, cf. Man. *nw’rt*, *BBB.*, p. 82. “Everyone . . . and should not hire (anyone) for evil deeds so that, out of poverty, they (= the employees) will kill. Since he gains profit thereby (*wδ’y*), he cannot be dissociated, etc.”

272/6. *wrm’ycyh* = surf (Av. *varəmi-*) ? *wβ’ntk* = snare = Parth. *wbndg*, *Tales*, 471, n. 4 (see also below on P 5, 24). *’r’β* = flame = Turki *alav* (Pers. *ālāv*) ?

280. *δryh* locative of *δr-* “ravine, glen” = Parthian *dr*, Wakhi *δōr*, etc. ?

292. *z’nt* read *n’zt*, “his eyes . . . roll.” See *BBB.*, p. 94 (on b 60; add *Dhyāna* 401), and cf. *prn’z-* above 144.

295. *γwyst* not “he trembles”, but “he sweats”, from *γwys-* = Av. *x’visa-*.

296. *γwn’k*. M. Benveniste rightly translates *poil* and refers to Av. *gaona-*. Lentz (apud Lüders, *Textilien*, 9, n. 3) wanted to read *γwž’y* in *SCE.*, 302, instead of *γwn’y*. That he erred is made evident by Man. *γwn’yy* (*sic*, cf. the ending in the *SCE.*), M 141 V 13 (Man. script). There the word stands in one of those “series” of which Lentz made a special study and corresponds to MPers. *mwy* “hair”:—

| <i>MPers.</i> | <i>MPers.</i> | <i>MPers.</i> | <i>Copt.</i> | <i>Sogd.</i> | <i>Uyy.</i> | <i>Chin.</i> | <i>Pahl.</i> |
|---|----------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>MM. i</i> , 195. <i>T ii D ii</i> 120. | | <i>Ti</i> , 5. | <i>Keph.</i> 96 (107). | <i>M</i> 141. | <i>TM. iii</i> 18/9. | <i>Tr.</i> 32/3. | <i>GrBd.</i> 196. |
| ' <i>stg</i> 1 | ' <i>stg</i> 1 | — | <i>Knochen</i> 1(2) | ' <i>stky</i> 1 | <i>sōngük</i> 1 | <i>os</i> 1 | <i>astag</i> 4 |
| <i>py(y)</i> 2 | <i>py</i> 3 | <i>py</i> 5 | <i>Sehne</i> 2(3) | <i>pδδw'</i> 2 | <i>singir</i> 2 | <i>nerfs</i> 2 | <i>pai</i> 3 |
| <i>pyt</i> 3 | [<i>pyt</i>] | <i>pyt</i> 2 | <i>Fleisch</i> 4(4) | <i>y'ty</i> 4 | <i>āt</i> 4 | <i>chair</i> 4 | <i>gōšt</i> 1 |
| <i>rg</i> 4 | <i>rg</i> 4 | <i>rg</i> 3 | <i>Ader</i> 3(5) | <i>r'k</i> 3 | <i>tamar</i> 3 | <i>veines</i> 3 | <i>rag</i> 2 |
| <i>crm</i> 5 | <i>crm</i> 6 | <i>crm</i> 1 | <i>Haut</i> 5(7) | <i>crm</i> 5 | <i>tāri</i> 5 | <i>peau</i> 5 | — |
| — | <i>xwn</i> 5 | <i>xwn</i> 4 | <i>Blut</i> (6) | <i>xwrnyy</i> 6 | — | — | <i>xūn</i> 6 |
| — | <i>mgj</i> 2 | — | <i>Mark</i> (1) | <i>mγzyy</i> 7 | — | — | <i>mazy</i> 5 |
| — | <i>mwy</i> 7 | — | — | <i>γwn'yy</i> 8 | — | — | <i>mūy</i> 7 |

299. *pš’ycykh myn’y w’st*, possibly “he lets water”. Hence, *w’st* from *w’c-* and *myn’y* = *myz’y* (Av. *maēz-*, Pers. *mīz*, etc.), while the first word is not clear (from *pšync-* ? or cf. Pers. *pēšyār* ? or if co-ordinated with *myz’y*, cf. *pšy* P 7, 166, for the meaning, and *pšycyk*, Dhuta 281, for the form).

300. *γwwnky*. Man. *γxwng* (*Sogdica* 31⁷, 35⁴⁻⁸) = “the act of separating” does not seem to share the meaning of *γxw’q* = “the product of separating”. Hence, “by the various acts of dissecting” ? It is, however, possible that *γwwnky* *γwwnky* is a copyist’s mistake for *γw’nk(y)* *γw’nky* “articulation”

(SCE., 384, see Gershevitch, § 220), perhaps produced by *yγw'y'n* in the next line.

313. Read *ptywštwd'rm* in the place of *-st-*. *δβnh* here = suspicion. Translating it as “doubt” produces a version that reverses the meaning of the text. “I have not seen that it was killed, I have not heard it, I do not suspect that it was killed (viz. for me).” See Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i, 55.

326. *rnβ-* “to attack” compares with Parth. *rf-* and Saka *rraph-*. But *rnp-*, *VJ.*, 1094 = “to abuse, curse”.

331/2. *γwnγw ZKZY cuz'kk ZK mryγ znty* (thus to be read instead of *γty*) = “that which the chicken-bird brings forth”, viz. the object called *mryγ-z'tk* elsewhere, which is *né de la poule* but not *né de l'œuf* as M. Benveniste has it (p. 173; Pers. *murγe* is of doubtful authority, but *murγāne* occurs). *zn-* seems to be *enfanter* only, hardly also *naître* as M. B. assumes for 334.

338. “in the Sūtras expounded to the Yakṣas in the ocean”? We note in passing that *y'γš* in the fragment published by M. Benveniste in *BSOS.*, IX, 501, is merely part of a Yakṣa's name, but not the word *yakṣa* itself, which follows *n'm* in line 1, *yk[šy]*.

344. *ružya* “greed”, cf. *Sogdica*, 47; Gershevitch, § 379. For the treatment of *-zd-* in Sogdian, *γztwq* “saliva” is of interest. I wrongly rejected this spelling in *S.T.*, ii, 604. It is, however, becoming clear now that original *-zd-* (between vowels) may become *-d-*, later *-y-*, in Persian. Sogd. *γazdūk* is related to Pers. *ḡayū* (*ḡadū*) precisely as Av. *pazdu-* is to Pers. *payū(k)* “*Filaria Medinensis*” (against *pazūk* in Pahlavi).

359. *mry'wnk y'tk*. Compare the similar accounts in *GrBd.*, 16, 109 sqq., where the equivalent stage is described as *daštak* (?) which I ventured to explain as “a little plain” (*Sogdica* 49). See also *DkM.*, 746, where the same word occurs in line 11, *kay dēsihistan-i abar daštak* “when (does) the formation (of the limbs) on the *daštak* take place”. Mr. R. C. Zaehner, some years ago, drew my attention to Burzōi's discourse on procreation, in the preface to *Kalīla wa Dimna*. There we have *ar-rā'ib ath-thaḥīn al-ghalīz*, p. 72³, ed. de Sacy = thick coagulated milk (Naṣrullāh simply *māst*). With this compare *GrBd.*, 110¹¹ (*tuχm-i narān ud χūn-i māyagān*) *šīr [ud] plwšk homānāg* “like milk and *frušag*” (resulting in coagulated milk). This *frušag*, a curdling substance, recurs in *Pahl. Texts*, 113⁶ *šīr ud panīr . . . (plwšk =) afrušag ud māst*, and in *Kawān*, a 179, “threw (put) *prwšg* into milk,” where, as well as in *BSOS.*, IX, 86, I unfortunately thought of Pers. *farūše*, Arm. *hrušak*, etc., a kind of sweetmeats. However, *frušag* (*afrušag*) is evidently the same as Pers. *furše*, Pashto *wuržə* “beestings”. An interesting dialect-form has been preserved by Ibn Muḥannā, who has *هَرْشِه*, read *hurše*, with *hr-* from *fr-* (p. 51).

388. M. Benveniste justly points out that *zwtk* is not “wine” but *boisson alcoolique* (his other translation, *alcool*, is better avoided). It corresponds to Skt. *madya*, e.g. in line 664 *zwtk ZY y'tk* = *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 258¹³ *māmsamadyādi*. Its Chinese equivalent in *SCE.* means “spirit, wine, liquor”.

On the other hand it is not a general term for “intoxicating drink”, as that meaning is always expressed in Sogdian by *mstk'r'k cš'nt*; a phrase like *mδw 'PZY zwtk* in the line under review strongly suggests that *zwtk* is a term for a special kind of drink, presumably the Sogdian variety of “beer”. May not Sogdian *zūte* be the same word as Greek *ζῦτος* (*ζύτος*), *ζῦθος* (Lat. *zythum*, Syriac *zwtyñ*, *zwtwš*) ? The Greek word, first employed by Theophrastus, is common in papyri from the third century B.C. onwards, but its origin, reputedly Egyptian, is I believe not settled. It is not likely that the Sogdian was borrowed from the Greek or vice versa, but both words may have a common origin, possibly in some Scythian language. Cf. the case of *ἀκινάκης*: *kyn'k*.

407. “and obtains an opportunity against him (*šw prw*) quicker.” The construction is the same as in *Vim.*, 149, where *'yty* is a misspelling of *'ty* (= *'kwZY*), cf. *'ky 'ty* P 2, 1005, etc.

411. “and much later still he is afraid and trembles.” *šyr* is necessarily adverb (*šyr γyr*, with *pyštrw*, in 446), and *pckwyr-* does not need an object.

416. “and to him it (= his food) becomes quickly indigestible.” *γ'm* = undigested, indigestible, as Skt. *āma*, *ᾠμος*, *crudus*, etc.

459. *ty-*, if from **taha-*, perhaps = river = Pashto *tōe*. Cf. Pashto *sōe* from *saha-*.

501. *βγδ'n'k pršt'yt* (comm., p. 176), cf. Uyγur (*yaγışliγ*) *tängirliγ it-*, *T.T.*, iv, 436, line 46; *yaγış* corresponds to Sogd. *δr'wš'ycyk 'st'wr* (540), cf. now Chr. *žwšy* (Giwargis). The incomplete word *kwδβγδ'nyy*, *Sogdica*, 56, line 19 (cf. *Errata*) may contain *βγδ'n'k*. The village (if it ever existed) which gave its name to Baghdād may have been called *Baydān* originally (cf. *بغدان*, *مغدان*, etc.); which would agree well with Arm. *Bagaran*.

527. *δ't* was already known from *Dhyāna*, 325 (*δ'tth*). It was borrowed by Persian as *lād* (Asadi, etc.), and should be added to the words collected in *BSOS.*, X, 93 sqq. Instead of *š'y* it seems we should read *šβy*, which, if correct, could be **šfi* from Av. *fšā(biš)*.

544. “the town is broken and *conquered” ? *'nyw'yt* here passive, as e.g. *VJ.*, 6^b. Also *wn'yk škr-* (548) may mean “to lead away as conquered”. Presumably from *wan-* “to gain a victory”.

554. *γwy'r*, Chr. *xwy'r* (B 49, 13, and Giwargis A 30). A comparison of all passages shows that it means “easily”. M. Benveniste, too, sometimes gives *facilement* in his translation, but otherwise *exactement, en détail*. Cf. also *Tales k* 2. Confirmation is desirable for the expression *xwy'ry' wntysq* “verachtet”, quoted by Lentz *apud BBB.*, 81. Probably = “he takes lightly”. This makes one think of Pers. *χ'ār*, in spite of the obvious phonetical difficulties. Cf. also *γw'ry* above, on line 162.

597. *pc'wp-* “to exchange”, instead of **pcywp-* ? Cf. *pcywfs-* “to be changed, transformed”, *S.T.*, i, 16^a; B 49, 8; see also *BBB.*, p. 63 on 521.

600. *kβrδh* = leeks, acc. to the Chinese (p. 189, n. 4). M. Benveniste adduces Pers. *kabar*, *kavar* “capers”, but botanists, one fears, will frown

upon such a comparison. We should compare Pers. *kavār* “leeks”, from **kabarda-* (but with *-r* instead of *-l*), and further Turkish (from Iranian ?) گوزدا (= *köverde* ?) = *kurrāth*, Ibn Muḥannā, p. 182. The word strangely, although perhaps accidentally, resembles κεφαλωτόν, *Allium porrum* (also κεφαλών), which is said to be merely the neuter of κεφαλωτός “headed”.

600. *βzn-* “garlic”, see now *Tales*, 470, n. 2, where OIr. *brzn-* was proposed. This may have existed also in Western Iranian, although with slightly divergent meaning. بوسه یاز. Muwaffaq 44¹¹, a kind of bitter onion, probably = *βολβός*, should almost certainly be read بوسنه *būsne* (from **burznak* ?). Syriac *bwzn'* (also misspelt *bwzy'*, *bwn'*, the last = *βολβός*), which puzzled Löw, *Aram. Pfl.*, 74 sq., is apparently the same word.

601. *prw'rt*, it is true, is “chapter”. But nevertheless its proper meaning is “roll, scroll”. It belongs to *prw'rt-* “to turn”, precisely as Uyḡur *tägzinč* is formed from *tägzin-* “to turn”. Both *prw'rt* and *tägzinč* answer to Chin. 卷 *chüan* “roll, scroll, chapter”. Thus *parwärt* is different from MPers. (etc.) *fravardag*, which, however, can also be explained as “roll, folded document” > “letter”.

635/6. *myw ZY wyrkyh 'kyšpy βnt* = Skt. 257¹⁵ (*anyonyabhakṣaṇāḥ sattvāḥ*) *kravyādakulasambhavāḥ* (*ḍurgandhi-kutsanīyaśca unmattaścāpi jāyate*) = Guṇabhadra acc. to M. Demiéville “tombent dans l'espèce des tigres et des loups”. The parallel versions led me to assume (*Tales*, 470, n. 1) that the meaning of *'kyšpy* here was different from that of *'kyδrp-*, but possibly M. Benveniste is right in translating *'kyšpy*, too, as *forme*. However that be, we are in agreement in believing that both forms are identical etymologically, although we disagree on the question which of them should be regarded as the original spelling. M. Benveniste has made his etymology of *'kyδrp-* (Av. *kəhrp-*) the basis of a far-reaching phonetical law, involving the transition of OIr. *-θr-* to *-hr-* (to *-š-*) in Sogdian. In addition to the reasons advanced before against this theory (in the annotation quoted above), I should like to point out that the Sogdian language lacked the *-h-* sound, and that if only for this reason *-hr-* was unlikely to be the result of *-θr-*. The fact that in a single (and somewhat doubtful) instance a *foreign -hr-* was changed to *-š-* by the Sogdians merely demonstrates the absence of such a group of sounds from their language. My etymology of *'kyδrp-/kyšp-* (OIr. *kršv-*) is supported by *'βtkyšp* P 3, 209, “the world” = Av. *hapta karšvaṇ*, Pers. *haft kišvar*. M. Benveniste has misinterpreted this word.

659. *pcγwnδ'* is awkward, as no such verb is known otherwise (only the noun Man. *pcrwn*, etc.). It corresponds to Skt. *vivarjayet* 258¹⁰. In line 649 the same Skt. verb (*vivarjitam* 258⁵) corresponds to *pcγw'y-*, which also stands against *antarāyakaro bhavet* in 258^{12/3} (*pcγw'yt*). Thus *pcγwnδ'* may be a scribal error for **pcγwyδ'*, the intransitive form of *pcγw'y-*. This could apply also to *pcγwδ'* in line 658. “Concerning what I taught before: that you should see, hear, suspect, and (in that case only) avoid, now (I declare): seen or unseen, every kind you shall avoid.”

663. *ym'n* is “defect, fault”, e.g. = Skt. *avadya* in line 670, hence hardly comparable with Pers. *gumān* “opinion, fancy, suspicion, doubt”.

671. *'wp'y 'krt-*, see also *Sogdica* 18 (and *Errata*). MPers. *'wp'y* is apparently a different word. Here = *buddhānuvarṇitam* 258¹⁵ (= 說).

676. *β'wcy γrδβ'*, I used to read *γrδy'* instead, taking it for Skt. *hrdaya*, in view of 心量 (heart [mind] + capacity), which is both Guṇabhadra's and Śikṣānanda's translation of *mātrayā* (259¹) acc. to Suzuki; M. Demiéville has a different reading (p. 191, n. 9). M. Benveniste translates as if the text had *γrβδ'*.

677/8. = Skt. *yogī piṇḍaṃ samācaret*. Cf. also *'cw wyspw šyr'k m'n 'škr'n'tt* 629 = *yogī*.

683. *pδβh*, also 714, possibly to be read *pδkh*. It is not a satisfactory *-k-*, but it is not a good *-β-* or *-y-* either. The letter *-k-* has been maltreated by the scribe throughout the manuscript; it can be mistaken sometimes for *-r-*, sometimes for *-p-*, etc. The meaning of *pδkh* could be “habit” or “category” here. Cf. the weak *pδkh* in P 12, 52, *pr s'n pδkh* “like an enemy” (here M. B. emends, I think, unnecessarily), *pr βy'n'yk pδkh VJ.*, 873, *'stty w'γwn'k pδkh 'PZY* “it happens that” P 6, 108 (edition *'sttyw*, but the apparent *-w* merely serves to fill the line; = *'sty*), and P 6, 60, comm.

732. *prγwn-* I took for the present stem of *prγwt-* (868), *prγ'wt-* (1035, 1039), and compared the noun *prγwn* (see *BBB.*, 76). “So that they will reject (condemn) meat and [not] desire its various kinds.” However, this does not agree well with the Chinese.¹

756. *nyz'nt* “*vertueux, honnête*” acc. to M. Benveniste. In 794 *nyz'ntyh* = Skt. *kīrti*, in 1181 *trn nyz'nt* evidently = Chr. *trn nznt* = Syr. *tammīmā* “*perfectus, sincerus, simplex*” = ἀκέρατος. Chr. *nznty'*, *S.T.*, ii, certainly the same as *nyz'ntyh*, corresponds together with “obedience” to Hebr. *'wny* ii Sam., 16¹² (as A. Rucker has seen), which has been interpreted in different ways (mostly taken for *'onyī*). Here “humility, subjection” would suit, and similarly *nznt* in the hendiadys *trn nznt* could be “meek”. Cf. also M 765^{k8} *c'nw nzndy'h 't[yy] nmryh w'x[št]* “as humbleness and soft (polite) words”. I compared Pers. *nižand* (*na-*) “cast down” (*S.T.*, ii, 604) and later Arm. *hnazand* ὕπνηκοος (see Gershevitch, §§ 27, 397).

¹ It is perhaps not always realized with sufficient clarity that the Sogdian translators (1) may have had before them Chinese manuscripts whose text differed considerably from that printed in the Taishō Tripitaka, (2) may have thoroughly misunderstood the Chinese. An instructive example is *SCE.*, 79/80, *γwmy ZKZY ym'n nws'kw 'wy cšmy' syt*. Anyone acquainted with Sogdian will understand “that one to whom faults appear in the eyes perpetually”, viz. a habitual fault-finder. I venture to think that a true-born Sogdian would have understood the same thing. But alas! the Chinese text used by M. Pelliot bears no resemblance to it. It says *mot à mot* “sew-falcon-eye-joint” = “(he that) sew(s together a) falcon's eye-lid(s)”. One wonders if it is wise for us to resign our knowledge of Sogdian and try to bring the Sogdian text into line with the Chinese. For this short sentence we have to impute to the Sogdian language not less than three otherwise unknown words, all of them homonyms of well-known words, namely (1) *ym'n* a new pronominal form (as if we had not enough of such already), otherwise = fault, defect; (2) *nws'kw* a falcon (which in fact is *nws* or *zws*), otherwise = always; (3) *syt* he sews, otherwise = he appears.

771. *γrtr'k* “mule” from *ḫaratara-*, cf. also Saka *khadara*, Bailey, *BSOS.*, X, 590 (24). The Sogdian word was borrowed by the Turks: *ḫartar* > *ḫātar* > *qatir*, and further in Mongol and in several Turkish dialects (cf. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxvii, 1943, 43) *qačir* > *qečir*. As Turkish loan-word it reappeared in Iranian (Pers. *qātir*, Pashto *qačara*, Bal. *xačar*, etc.), and entered also Indian languages (Hindi, Nepali *khaccar*, Sindhi *xačar*“, etc.).

811. *kysn'k* = jungle, forest, cf. *Sogdica*, 29 n. Dhuta, 257, probably “the plant does not grow and disappears in the deep jungle”; *zyrwßs-* = Parth. *zgrys-* “to disappear” < “to be taken out (of its normal place)”. But Parthian *zrwrb* (the text was given in *BSOS.*, IX, 90) may be < **zrwrb* = “gold-worker”, with **xuwab* “artist” from Av. *hwapah-* = Skt. *svāpas-*.

847. *pn-¹ monnaie* is loan-word from Skt. *paṇa* (cf., e.g., Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques*, i, 282, No. 561), rather than from Chin. 分 *fən* < *piuən* “candareen” (now “cent”), which appears in Eastern Turkish as *puñ* (Menges, *SbPAW.*, 1933, 1285).

856. *L' yysy'nt L' k'mynt = ni donné d'instructions, ni sollicité.* *yys-* (not *yysy-*) thus renders a Chin. character with the meaning of “to instruct”, which the Sogdian translator (who understood the here apparently very difficult Chin. text differently) took for “to be instructed, to learn”. Hence, *yys-* defective spelling of *ywys-/yγws-*. “Even if they neither learn, nor desire, nor consider for what reasons the fish is caught. . . .”

911. *βγ'n γwn'y = Raurava* (Skt. and Chin.) explains the puzzling reference to *raurava* in *BSOS.*, IX (1939), 511 sq. Similarly, the reading and interpretation of *mkγw* (ibid., p. 499) can be understood only with the help of the Paris texts. One wondered why M. Benveniste wanted to compare (ibid., 502) Sogdian *wzp-* (Chr. *užb-*) with MPers. *wyz'b-* (*wizāb-*); we find now that the word is spelt *wyzp-* in P 6, 193. All the same, as the Sogdian has *-žb-* with no vowel intervening, but the MPers. *-zāb-*, the words cannot be connected. As M. Benveniste complains that the passage where *wyz'b-* occurs is not generally accessible, I give here the text (of the whole column, M 26 ii R), *'wd 'st'yšn 'yg [. . .] xwyš pydr yzd r'stygr o kw ''wn c'wn xwd pd r'myšn 'wd š'dyy pd b'ryst phryzynd o 'wš'n ks wyz'bg'r ny 'st' o ''wn 'c xwyš r'myšn u drwd wšyd'xw 'wd 'wrw'hmyyḥ wnyr'nd 'br hm'g dyn ywḡ[dhr]*.

951. *mk'* “ink” = Uyγur *mākā*, from Chin. 墨 *mo* < *māk*, see Müller, *Uigurica*, iii, 92.²

¹ M. Benveniste (in the Glossary) connects *pn-y* with *pn-y* in the medical fragment P 19, 8. It would, however, seem that *pn-y-r'y* in that text is a single word. In unpublished medical fragments it occurs (throughout out of context) as *pnry*. There is little doubt that this is the name of a medicinal measure or weight, presumably a fraction of the *st'yr* (P 19, 6) = ounce. In Uyγur Turkish the tenth part of a *sitir* = *tael* = ounce is called “*baqir*” = *mace*, see F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurische Glossen, Ostas. Ztschr.*, viii, p. 320. This “*baqir*” (*p'γyr*) or *paḡir*, which should not be confused with Turk. *baqir* “copper”, is evidently the same word as the Sogdian *pnry* (etc.) = **panḡari*. One frequently finds *-aḡ-* instead of *-anḡ-* in Sogdian words.

² In view of M. Benveniste's remark, p. 181 n., it should be noted that *BBB.* was published on 13th April, 1937. I received *Notes iii*, through the kindness of the author, on 4th May, 1937.

980. 'ntrnykh (ZY ptmr'kh), read 'ntrnyrh = *indranīla* (and *padmarāga*), see *Sogdica*, 24 (c 11/12), and *Errata*. On *murβnt* see also *Tales*, 468, n. 4.

1016. -šwβt-, if -š- from *θr*, possibly = Pers. *sift* "tight, thick, etc."

1017. *ryz'kh*. M. Benveniste translated "rice" at first (this was also my first translation), but abandoned it later. In view of Saka *rrīys*- and the other forms quoted by Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 91, it deserves consideration. In *Padm.*, 28, *ryz'kh* seems to have no equivalent in the Chinese (*Taiśhō*, No. 1082, vol. xx, p. 199c); why not "rice"?¹ The word corresponding to "mustard" (白芥) there is certainly *šywšpδn*, which should be compared with Saka *šašvām* "mustard" (quoted by Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, 136). Sogd. *csth* = 酪 "drink made of fermented mare's milk, etc."

1019. *γwrst'ny* is presumably "millet". *γwrst*- exactly = Pashto *γōšt*; cf. further Pers. *gāvars*, Saka *gausā*, etc., see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 214.

1019. *kynp'*, M. Benveniste tentatively "hemp". We should primarily compare Saka *kumbā* "flax", quoted by Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, 128. On confusion of hemp and flax see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 288 sqq. **kembā* is certainly loan-word in Iranian and belongs to Akk. *gunnapu*, Syr. *qnp'*, *kávvaβis*, etc. Hence, "as thickly as (the plants in) a field of flax, millet, or corn."

1029. *cytβnt* "homage" or "greeting" is possibly connected with Saka *tvamdana*- (Tuyre *twantam*, see Konow, *NTS.*, xiii, 1942, 207-8), although the initials are not easily explained.²

1045. *pc'w*- = agitate, stir up, excite, see now *Tales*, 472 (D 28).

1065. *zyncry'kh* "chains", cf. *JRAS.*, 1942, 240, n. 1 (strike out *tcamgalai*, see Bailey, *BSOAS.*, XI, 5). *kwd'ynty*: M. Benveniste justly refers to Skt. *kudāṇa*, which Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques*, ii, 371, 379, wrongly restored as *kodaṇḍa*. He should have written *kudāṇa* as in *Mahāvīyutpatti*, 223, 279. This is pseudo-Sanskrit. Sogdian *kwd'ynty*, which in my view is in the singular, should be pronounced *kudende* and connected not with Pers. *kudīne*, etc., "mallet", as M. Benveniste proposes, but with Pers. *kunde* "stocks for offenders", shortened from **kudandak*. The word is still used in Eastern Turkestan, as *gundu*, cf. Menges, *Sb.PAW.*, 1933, 1277.

1114. *prγ'yz*-, beside *t'y* "thief", probably "to rob, plunder, strip", cf. *prγ'stk*, *SCE.*, 78, *prγ'stw*. Anc. Lett. v, 12. M. Benveniste refers to Chr. *prγyž*, *S.T.*, ii, but gives "léser". In view of Av. *tāyuš* . . . *hazanha* perhaps from **parahazyā*-? For Chr. -γ- instead of older -χ- see Gershevitch, §§ 55, 57. Man. *prxyz*-, *BBB.*, *Kawān*, 62, n. 2 (where *prγyž* should be cancelled) must be a different word.

1121. (*cnn*) *βr' βr w'γš* "(from) carrying words to and fro" = "tale-bearing". A good example of the ablative of the infinitive (cf. Gershevitch, §§ 913, 919).

1152. *p'z'rmy m'r*. The line is a little blurred, but the first word, to judge

¹ *rysk* Anc. Lett. hardly so.

² *cytβnt* serves also as transliteration of *Jetavana* P 8, 30, "to the *farn* of *Jetavana Vihāra* (and to the *farn*) of *Navavihāra*" [sic].

by the facsimile, almost certainly ends in *-ʿrny*. Thus *pʿnʿrny/pʿzʿrny* or perhaps *pʿyʿrny*? I venture to propose *ptyʿrny*. “I have borne many evil things . . . but never have I done them, even to the inimical Māra”? However, *mʿr*, too, is very doubtful; it may be *mnw*¹ = hater, enemy, as in Dhuta 87.

1155. *ʿnzʿptnym* read *ʿznʿptnym*, and so read also in P 12, 70, in the place of *ʿznʿptʿym*. Man. *jnʿ-ptnym*, *BBB.*, p. 64. See now *Tales*, 481, n. 6.

1203, 1222. *nyš* “here, now” (see *Comm.* and *Additions*). The correct translation was already implied by Weller, who (on *Dhyāna* 272) stated that *nyš* probably = 此. Unfortunately for us non-Sinologists he considered it superfluous to reveal the meaning of the Chinese character, which is “in this place, here, now”.

1205. *ʿpšty-*, different from *ʿpšty-* “to abandon”, *VJ.*, 301, probably “to order, command, recommend”, to judge by Man. *ʿpštʿwʿnh* “order, recommendation” (see Gershevitch, § 1084), to which it bears the same relation as *nyšty-* (ibid., § 561) does to OPers. **ništāwan-*. Man. *ʿpštʿwʿnh* (in Sogd. script), *ʿpštʿwm* (in Man. script), = *apaštāwan*, is used only of Mani; *ʿpšty-* is used of the Buddha. These Sogdian words make it possible to propose a new explanation for the name of the “Avesta”: *Apastāk/Abastāg* = The Injunction (of Zoroaster).

1233. *npʿyšty*. Some scholars still cherish the idea that the ancient Iranians, instead of *writing* and *sealing* their letters, preferred to *fix* and *confirm* them, although it seems to have been abandoned now as far as the Sogdians are concerned. The basis of this strange opinion was the misreading (*hambāštan*) and consequent wrong etymology of the Middle Persian equivalent of the ideogram *HTYMWN*. Although he did not fail to recognize the Semitic word for sealing, Bartholomæ insisted that the MPers. equivalent should be translated as *festmachen*. The verb is written ideographically nearly always, but occurs in its Iranian garb in the *Epistles of Manuščīhr*, p. 24⁴, *ušān nibišt ud ʿwšt*, read *ʿwbšt*. Important is the Pazend form *hawast* in *ŠGV.*, xi, 39, which sufficiently indicates *ʿwbšt* (instead of *hnbšt*) as the proper reading. It has been misunderstood by P. de Menasce in his recent reprint of the Pazend text (Fribourg, 1945). Why does the Quran say, exclaims the author of the *ŠGV.*, *kum dil, gōš, čašm-i mardumā bē hawast* = that “I sealed the heart(s) and the ear(s) and the eye(s) of men”? Even a slight acquaintance with Quranic terminology teaches that *hawast* here renders Ar. *ḥatama*. P. de Menasce has not recognized that the passage quoted is Sūrah 2, 6, *ḥatama ʿllāhu ʿalā qulūbihim waʿalā samʿihim waʿalā abṣārihim (ghīṣāwat^{un})*, a text familiar to most first-year students of Arabic. The final proof for reading *ʿwbšt* (with

¹ Not connected with MPers. *myn*, *Mir.Man.*, i, which was assumed to be the offspring of Av. *maēni-* (Skt. *meni*). Ibid., *gbr* = uterus (cf. *Kephalaia*, 177, 29); *dnʿh* = tooth-ache (*dann-* from *dant-*? + Pers. *āh*); *wcyh* = Pahl. *wcyh-* = Av. *vyusqm*; *hngʿwʿn* read *hngʿn* “to fill up (a well)”; *phng* read *pʿng*. In *Mir.Man.*, ii, *pylg* may be “altar” = Akkadian *parakku*, Syr. *prakkā*, Mand. *prky* (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, 14). But in Parthian *pylg* is apparently “steps, staircase”, hence = Pers. *pille*.

-wb- = -β-) is provided by Man. MPers. 'wyšt in an unpublished fragment (M 785, 28) *prurđg 'yg 'wyšt 'wd pryst'd 'w dw'zdh p'ygws'*[n].

1233/4. The name of *Khumdān* occurs first in the Ancient Letters ('*xwmt'n*'), see my note *apud* M. Black, *Transactions of the Glasgow Oriental Society*, viii, 1938, p. 25. The phrase '*wy γwt'w βryβ*'r is incomprehensible. A reference in such terms to the ruler of Ch'ang-an, viz. the Chinese emperor, is out of the question. Also, '*wy*' should precede a locative. Cannot *βryβ*'r be a mistake for *βry*'r? Hence, "in the *γwt'w* monastery", *γwt'w* being either its Sogdian ("lord, king") or its Chinese (**hu-tao*) name.—Read 19 in the place of 28.

P 3

3. *š'w-β'm'k* = black, or blackish. -*βām* in Sogdian is always "colour", as is -*fām* in Persian (cf. *BSOS.*, X, 100 sq.).

10. '*nkyr*' here, in view of '*rs'ny*' (on which see above on P 2, 37), may be = *angūr* = Pers. *an'ūr(e)* = *foramen ani*.

38. *š'yn'ynch* probably "ague", lit. shaking, from *šan-* (cf. Pers. *larz*).

55. *pych* "visage" should in my view be read *prch* "back". "If with this stone he knocks, ever so softly, his opponent on the back without his noticing it, etc."

66. *wš-* perhaps "piece", cf. *Sogdica*, 25. "Emitting pieces" = "splintering"?

74. '*sp'rδt*' may be a verbal form, "his eyes *burst (and) come out". Cf. Pashto *spaṛ-*, Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 68? In meaning the Sogdian word agrees well with Skt. *sphaṭ-/sphut-*.

100. *cnt'n-β'm'k* can hardly mean "sandal-coloured" as M. Benveniste proposes. Such a term would lack clarity, as sandalwood can be white, red, or yellow. Moreover, Skt. *candana* is regularly spelt *cntn* in Sogdian. *š'w-β'm'k*, '*sp'yt-β'm'k*', etc., in the parallel clauses make one think that *cnt'n* (or *czt'n*) by itself is the name of a colour (brown?).

106. '*m'rδ-*' apparently "companion, colleague, competitor" from *hām-arθa-*, cf. Pers. *hamāl*. See now also Chr. '*mrtt*' "colleagues", Giwargis 78.

124. *γry'γh*, as was suggested in *Tales*, 465, n. 2 = tent = Pers. *xargāh*. Independently, the same explanation was proposed by H. H. Schæder to M. Benveniste (see his note), who objects to it on the ground that we should not have Persian loan-words in a Sogdian text. It was not my meaning that *γry'γh* should be so regarded. One would rather consider *xargāh* a loan-word (slightly changed by popular etymology) in Persian.

126. '*šych*'. The imperfect *m'šync* occurs in an unpublished glossary fragment, but the MPers. column is missing (M 356). The corresponding MPers. word is "to water (the garden, the streets, etc.)", cf. *Kawān* a 110. Neither MPers. '*šynz-*' (*Mir.Man.*, i; *ZII.*, ix, 198) nor Parthian ('*šyy'd*' (see *BBB.* s.v.; apparently a preterite) are clear. "Poured down water" = "a waterfall"?

132. *yn'kw* conceivably *yz'kw* = *space, cf. Man. 'yz-, Chr. 'yz- (BBB., 122) ?

134. *cynr'w'k* ? Better read *cyzr'w'k* = Pers. *čayz-lāve* (*čayz-vāre*) = (frog-spawn), the scum on stagnant water, etc. Hence, "Paint the big space full of water, and on the back, down to the duck-weed, paint various kinds of *nāgas*."—The somewhat similar word *cyngry*' in *Sogdica*, p. 36 (*g* 30), can now be explained more fully. The interpretation of MPers. *cmb* as the name of a musical instrument (as in *g* 28, cf. also Sogd. *cmb-t'r*-, *ibid. a* 1), and the comparison with Pers. *čangale* "a musical instrument similar to a harp" (BQ.) can be confirmed. For Sogdian *cyngry*' was borrowed by Turkish: it appears as چنگرا *čing(e)rā*, equivalent of *sanj* "harp", in Ibn Muhannā's Arabic-Turkish dictionary, p. 146, ed. Stambul, 1338/1340.¹ Aptullah Battal, *Ibnü Mühennâ Lûgati*, Stambul, 1934, p. 25^a, should not have emended it ("çeng"). It is likely that these words are diminutives of *čang* (*čing* ?) "harp".

147 sqq. "the houses of the twelve constellations are to be painted over Mount Sumeru, and also the twenty-eight lunar mansions and the twelve (MS. eleven) great and terrible Hours and all other zodiacal stars are to be painted." The MS. has clearly "eleven hours", but M. Benveniste prints "ten" (cf. above P 2, 1234, where the edition has "28", but the MS. "19"). "Eleven" is a scribal error. The "twelve Hours" are the twelve sections of the ecliptic, each of which needs an hour (= double-hour) to pass through the meridian (= 30°). Astronomers still nowadays calculate right ascension in "hours" (of 15°) instead of degrees. Thus our shamanist had to paint, beside representations of the twelve constellations (as little circles for the stars, connected by lines), also the "circle of twelve animal figures typifying the double hours of the Chaldæan *νυχθήμερον*": so Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v. *δωδεκάωρος*. Cf. also Rachmati, *T.T.*, vii, plate 7. *pr'ykt* copyist's mistake for *p'r'ykt*. *'nyr-wz'nt* is adjective, "lying in, or belonging to, the zodiacal circle."

161. *nyzw*, if = Pers. *nayz* (as M. Benveniste suggests), = smooth, since this is the proper meaning of the Persian word (see e.g. *Čahār Maqāle* 7³, opp. *durušt*).

172. *wzprnh* beside camphor, sandalwood, costus, etc., perhaps "safflower" = Ar. *'uṣfur* ? The second half of the Sogdian word looks suspiciously like Ar. *za'farān*, believed to be of Persian origin by some authorities. But "saffron" cannot be meant here, as the proper Sogd. word for it (*kwrkwnph*) occurs in the next line. It is true that *'uṣfur* may be good Arabic, and is apparently not connected with *za'farān*. On the other hand, both may be arabicized forms of two different, but related, foreign words.

174. *yγsh aloēs*. It is difficult to believe that for this Indian incense the Sogdian language had a word so dissimilar to the Indian terms (*agaru*, *aguru*). The identification rests on P 7, 108, where the Chinese has *du parfum*

¹ چکر = *barbut* ? p. 161 (cf. Battal, p. 26, *čīñir*) is not clear.

candana ou de l'aloès et du musc, acc. to M. Demiéville's translation, while the Sogdian is *ZKw cntn 'PZY ȳrsh ZY ZKw kp'wr* = sandalwood and *ȳrsh* and camphor. Obviously, as the Persian lexicographers say, *ǰāy-i ta'ammul-ast*; for camphor is not musk. Until we are better informed by Sinologists, we may provisionally assume that *ȳrsh* is *musk*.¹ If so, one could understand “32 *ȳrsh*” in *Anc. Letter*, ii, 58, as “32 (vesicles of) musk” (a quantity of considerable value, as can be seen from Marvazi, tr. Minorsky, p. 20).—This is a good opportunity to call attention to the Pahlavi word for “lign-aloës”, which is found in *GrBd.*, 118⁶ (but omitted in the Indian Bundahishn): *'wlwg* = *awalūg* from **ayalūk* (with *-w-* from *-ȳ-* as often), a form that is very close to ἀγάλογον. It corroborates the Syriac spelling *'wlwg* (also *'blwg*), on which see Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, 11. As to the *soi-disant* Persian *يَلنجوج* (BQ.), النجوج (Löw, *Ar. Pfl.*, 295), this absurdity may owe its origin to misreading a corrupt Pahlavi form, e.g. **'wlwggw* misread as *ulangūg*.

175. *z'm nȳw'y*. M. Benveniste (see his note on P 2, 298) translates *trancher* and rejects Reichelt's *auspressen*. In my view the correct meaning is “to pound (drugs in a mortar)”. Wherever drugs are mentioned in Sogdian texts, they are unfailingly subjected to the action expressed by *nȳw'y*, which thus corresponds to Pers. *sūdan*. Together with *žām* “fine” it is the equivalent of Uyğur *yumśaq soq-* (cf. Rachmati, *Heilk. Uig.*, i, 469 on 138). As to *žām*, one does not see how it can be the Chinese 纖 *hsien* < *siam* (Benveniste, *JA.*, 1936, i, 231). Neither the initials nor the vowels agree. Middle Chin. *sj-* was invariably reproduced by *s(y)-* in Central Asian languages. Cf., e.g., 辛 *sjēn* = Sogd. *sin* (*SbPAW.*, 1907, 462), 小 *sjau* = Uyğur *sio-*, *sau-* (ibid., 1938, 374, and often), 信 *sjaem* = *sīmmi*, 信 *sjēn* = *sīmni* in Brāhmī (F. W. Thomas, *ZDMG.*, 91, 43), etc. An Iranian etymology was proposed *apud* Gershevitch, § 285.

179. *cntn'yn'k k'p* possibly “a block of sandal-wood”, cf. Pali *candana-gaṇṭhi* (PTS. Dict.)? *k'p* from *kβt-* “to split”?

181/2. *δ'r'yn't p'styt* = wooden cups, or small tablets? The mysterious word *pāšt-* is perhaps merely a dissimilated form of *tāšt-*. Cf. *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 50, n. 2.

199. *wyškyrd-* perhaps “to pierce”; compare, beside *wšk'rδ* “needle”, also Saka *pāskal-*, etc., see Konow, *NTS.*, ix, 64. The Sogdian word for “embers”, *ȳrwy* = *xarwe*, is no doubt (with metathesis of *-w-*) related to the Pahlavi for “embers”, *hwlg* = *xwarg* (from *xwāarak*), which is familiar also from Pazend *xurg* (= *aṅgāraka*, *ŠGV.*, xiv, 25), Jewish Persian *xwurg* = *xwarg* (Is. 44¹⁹, 47¹⁴; Ez. 1¹³, 10²), and vulgar Persian *xulg*, *xarg* (instead of *x'arg*), Wollaston s.v. embers.² The Sogdian phrase *ȳrwy wyškyrd-*

¹ If this can be established, it may even become worthwhile to consider whether the Sogdian is related in any way to the Chinese term for “musk” (see Karlgren, *Analyt. Dict.*, No. 865).

² Not recognized by indigenous dictionaries. P. de Menasce (on *ŠGV.*) quotes a solitary Pers. “*xarak D*”, but does not explain the *D*. This **xarak* which I find in Johnson's Dictionary is, of course, a mispointed *xarg/xorg*.

reminds one of Pahlavi *xwarg škastan* “to break up live coals”, *DkM.*, 794 apu.¹

204. *ḍšny w't* is probably “south-wind”. MPers. *dašn* is “right (side, hand)” only. In the place of *wn'ntk* one could read *wz'ntk* “blowing”. The passage in its whole recalls *Hadokht Nask*, ii, 7–8.

205. “swift as thought”, literally “swift thought-equally (*'ywnzkyδ*)”. On Pahl. *vāt-i artā* see also *Sogdica*, 37, n. 1.

219. “And now, a great oath has been taken by the Nāgas . . . (to the effect) that whenever all such preparations, as described, have been made in full, they will feel obliged to come there, together with the wind, in order to make . . .”

226/7. *w's-* “to begin to blow”, see *Tales*, 482, note *f*. Both M. Benveniste and myself have been deceived by the “frogs” *γwkt*. “Sulphur and realgar,” see *BSOS.*, X, 398, and *Tales*, 465, n. 1.

242. *nm'y* is perhaps the same particle as the Talmudic *nmy* (Levy, iii, 399), whose Persian origin Nöldeke suspected (*Mand. Gramm.*, 485). Syriac *lam* is generally derived from *nmy*.

273. *'psBr'yc* (*'stky*) is almost certainly a “sheep's shoulderblade”, an object indispensable to a Central Asian magician. One could refer to Quatremère, *Histoire Mong. en Perse*, 267 sqq. (note 89), and to the recent discussion by Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxvii, 1944, 92–3, 101. As *'ps-* = sheep, *-Br'yc* = *frēč* must be “shoulder” or “shoulderblade”. This should be compared with MPers. *pryyg*, Pahl. *plyk* “shoulder”, see *OLZ.*, 1934, 752 (where *Dād. Dīn.*, 37, 97, p. 102, ed. Anklesaria, could be added). Both the Sogdian and Middle Persian words represent Old Iranian **frayikā-*, which cannot be separated from **fayaka*, see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 208 (Dr. Gershevitch reminds me also of *Byk'*, *VJ.*, 56^e).

285. *knt'wš mastic* = Pers. *kandōš mastic*. This explanation, which Reichelt, ii, p. vii, approved, is not possible. There is no such Persian word. It is true one finds it in Johnson's dictionary (and its descendants), but one looks for it in vain in reliable books. The correct Persian word that can be identified with Sogd. *knt'wš* is *kundūš* = Ar. *kundus* = Syr. *qyndwš* and means “a kind of *Saponaria*” or according to some authorities (for example, Schlimmer, p. 559) “white hellebore”, see Löw, *Aram. Pfl.*, 305 sq.; Achundow, transl. of *Muw.*, 261 sq. [of the reprint]. It is in this case still possible to trace the mistake as to “mastic”. In the *Kašfu 'lLughāt* (sixteenth century) Arabic—but not Persian!—*kundūš* is thus defined:—“the name of an animal; also, it is said, the name of a drug, which they call *maštakī* = mastic in India; thus in *ašŠurāh*.” Obviously, the author of the *Kašf* declines responsibility for the second meaning. Looking up his source, the *Šurāh* (thirteenth century),

¹ This passage, along with many others, was discussed by Dr. Mirza in his able commentary on *Pahl. Riv.*, ch. 35, where he proposed “light (emanating from fire, etc.)”. However, the word was sometimes confused with *xwarreh* (as Mirza pointed out) and thus may appear as *GdH* in Pahlavi texts. Thus, e.g., in *GrBd.*, 124¹⁰, “three fires like three embers in a fire-place” (differently Bailey, *Zor. Problems*, 45).

we find s.v. *kdš*:—"Arabic *kundūš* = Persian 'akke va-kundur' = magpie and incense (mastic). Since the *Šurāḥ* is merely an abridgment of the *Šiḥāḥ*, we have to turn to the latter work, where, as in any other Arabic dictionary of repute, *kundūš* has only the meanings of (1) magpie, (2) a certain sternutative drug (= *kundus*; purists disapproved of the spelling with -š), see, e.g., *Tāʾ al 'Arūs*, vol. iv, p. 346. Thus *kundur* in the *Šurāḥ* is necessarily a mistake. No spelling *کندوش* occurs in either Arabic or Persian; the vowels of "kandōš" are pure invention.

286. *z'r* is almost certainly "poison" here as everywhere else. Hence, *mwš'kk z'r* = the poison, Skt. *mūṣaka*, *Salvinia cucullata* Roxb., cf. also Skt. *mūṣakamārī* "rat-killer" for the same plant; M. Benveniste's translation *mauve musquée* can hardly be justified. Further, *š'rynḱ z'r* is surely the well-known poison, Skt. *śrngī*, which in Arabic and Persian books partly appears as *شرنک* (thus Bērūnī) or *اسریق* (from *اسرنق* ?), partly is translated as *al-qurūn* "the horns" or *qurūn as-sunbul* "the horns of the corn-ear"¹, or also *bīš al-qurūn*. To judge by the statements of Muslim pharmacologists, *śrngī* was *Secale cornutum*; it figured in the lists of so-called "aconites". See Muwaffaq 59⁶; Achundow's translation, 276 sqq.; Ghāfiqī, No. 181 and note; *K. al-Dhakhrah*, 298, ed. Sobhy. The text of the relevant passage in Bērūnī's *k. as-Šaidanah* is available in part *apud* Z. Valīdī Togan, *Birunī's Picture of the World*, p. 113 (where *شیرنک* = *شبرنک* ?), more fully but less correctly *apud* Ghāfiqī, loc. cit.

P 5

1-89 re-edition of the *Dirghanakhasūtra*. 90-125 is not well described as *le début d'une longue invocation bouddhique*. It is a confession-prayer for Buddhist monks. One regrets that there is so little of it. The Uyḡur *Sündenbekenntnisse* published by Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 76 sqq., and Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, iv, were intended for the laity.

28 n. It is perhaps more correct to say that *ɣwnc* "colour" translates 色 "colour", which in its turn represents Skt. *rūpa*, irrespective of the meaning of the Skt. word in various contexts.

41. *šyr''w'y* (M. B.'s correction) is properly "goodness". It may not be superfluous to mention that the ordinary meaning of 好, which here is rendered by *šyr''w'y*, is "good, well, happy, etc." The Sogdian translator was hardly aware of the special value of the Chinese character.

94. Read [.](šy) *βwmh* ? Before *βwmh* there is space for not more than four or five letters. *ɣwyz''y* [.](šy) *βwmh* should be = *Sukhāvati*. One could restore *[wɣ]šy*, "the very [happy] land of the West." Cf. P 8, 72, "to with-great-joy = blissful *Sukhāvati*" (M. Benveniste's translation differs).

94. *pr'pt* (or is it *pr'pty* ?) occupies the third place in a list of Bodhisattvas.

¹ Often misunderstood as "the horns of spikenard".

Hence, abbreviation of [*Mahāsthāma*]prāpta, see, e.g., *Larger Sukhāvativyūha*, § 34.

106. *wsn* 107 *ɰwyty pyδ'r* cannot be seen on the photograph. *'pwh* is a little doubtful, but cf. *c'wn 'pw ''γ'z mrt's'r* P 9, 120 (which could conveniently be restored here).

108. *γrβ'wk* 109 *wn'y* is, to judge by the facsimile, a rather dubious reading. After *lobha* and *dveṣa* one expects *moha* (usually *mntγrβ'kyh*). Perhaps *γyr''k-wn'y*? "Desire, hate, stupidity, and suffering are endless, that torment. . ."

114/5. Nearly completely blotted out in the facsimile. *δ'r'ny* read *δ'ryny*? One wonders if **pcytw* can be read in the place of *pctw*.

120. Cf. *T.T.*, iv, p. 436, 28 sq., *bursong quwrayiγ iki yartim qiltimz ārsār*. Hence, read *'krtw*?

110–125. M. Benveniste has not translated these last fragmentary lines. They mean roughly this: "If I should have destroyed (*[n]štw*) a *stūpa* . . ., burnt or destroyed a sacred book, stolen and kept the possessions of the Three Jewels . . ., slandered (and said) 'it was not taught by the Buddha'. If I should have . . . and kept and hidden it . . . without the commandments and keeping the commandments . . . if I should have slandered and detracted . . ., hurt a life . . ., kept servants . . ., split the united community into two parties. If I should have given rise to the very heretical opinion that . . . action has no retribution. Furthermore, if by day or night, habitually (*r'm[nt]*) I should have committed sins of the body, [sins of the mind], sins of the mouth, . . ."

P 6

Fragment of the *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabhātathāgatasūtra*. To our misfortune, M. Benveniste has not printed the apparently very close translation of the Chinese original which M. Demiéville had prepared for him. W. Liebenthal's translation, given in an appendix, is not as literal as one could wish. One misses explanations of the passages where the Sogdian apparently deviates from the Chinese, judging by Liebenthal's version.

7. *kyn'k* means "sword" according to the Chinese version. M. Benveniste justly compares ἀκινάκης. There is, however, no need to bring in *kynβr Padm.*, 25, which, as Weller has shown (on *Vim.*, 136), is "enemy". Cf. Pers. *kīnāvar*, from *kīn* "hatred, revenge, enmity, fight, battle".

7/8. *cnn 'sk' šk''βy* has no equivalent in Liebenthal's translation. Professor Haloun kindly informs me that Hsüan-tsang's text, in agreement with most other versions, has "precipice", 懸峻. Pers. *šikāf* "crevice, cleft in a mountain".

13. *wyn'ync s'n* (Demiéville *ennemi étranger*). One does not quite see how one can arrive at this reading. The MS. has *nyn'ync* (or *zyn'ync*, etc.).

21. *'βt*, read *'št*. Added by the scribe above the line, but apparently superfluous.

25. *γw''t*. M. Benveniste (see his long note) has not seen that this *γw''t* is merely an orthographic variant of *γ'wt(y)*, *γw'wt(y)* in the Dhuta text which

were discussed in *BBB.*, p. 58 (on 505). This $\gamma w''t$ (from $\gamma w'wt$) means “he breaks (the law, etc.)”, and has no obvious connection with the adjective $\gamma w''t$, Man. and Chr. $xw't$, which in all passages means nothing but “weak”, certainly nowhere *endommagé*. The comparative is naturally *moins de force*, weaker. That this adjective was formed from a root $xwā$ was explained in *BBB.*, pp. 82 sq. (on 688). It is entirely a different matter to ascribe a present stem $xwā$ to Sogdian. Such a present stem does not exist. I have no apologies to make for the statement to that effect in *BBB.*, pp. 82 sq. (on 688). There are no present stems ending in $-ā$ in Sogdian. As proof for his point of view M. Benveniste quotes $\gamma w''t$, $\gamma w'nt$, *SCE.*, 185, 212. In my view these forms belong to γw - “to fail, *commettre une faute*”, see *BBB.*, p. 68 (on 552).

82. $\beta'z'kh$ “upper arm and shoulder” corresponds to Pahlavi *bāzā*, spelt $b'z'y$, as *nasā*, *ardā* are spelt $ns'y$, $'lt'y$. We have countless examples of this orthographic peculiarity in Pahlavi inscriptions now, see e.g. *BSOS.*, IX, 829 sqq. The Pahlavi words have frequently been misread as *artāk*, *nasāk*, etc. Salemann, *Gr. Ir. Phil.*, i, a, 279, beside $b'z'y$ and $ns'y$, quotes the much-discussed *nkyr'y* (“*nkyr'b*”), transliterated in Pazend as *nigārāe*. According to H. H. Schæder, *Ung. Jb.*, xv, 571, n. 2, this word should prove the existence in Middle Persian of a participle-adjective in $-āy$ (which I had denied, *NGGW.*, 1932, 219, n. 7). I submit that the spelling on the contrary shows that the word ended in $-ā$. It would, moreover, seem that *nkyr'y* is a loan-word from Aramaic, a form from *nkr* “to repudiate”, although the true original, **nakkīrā* “denying, repudiating” (as *makkīkā* “humble”, etc.), does not apparently occur in Aramaic.

98. $p\delta'y\beta'rcyh$ shows that Chr. $pdyb'dcy'$, *S.T.*, ii, is wrong reading of $pdyb'rcy'$. The $-d-$ was marked as uncertain in the edition; the difference is merely a matter of a dot. Misled by the Christian form, I restored $p\delta y\beta'\delta cy'$ in *BBB.*, p. 36 (line 613), but indicated that this was doubtful. Read $p(\delta y\beta)['](rc)[y](')$.

111. $'yw knpy$ 50 litt. *cinquante moins un*. *Il en résulte que knpy (ici “à défaut”) est confirmé dans la fonction de substantif et dans le sens de “manque, défaut” posés Notes iv [BSOS., IX], p. 515.* To my mind this use of the word (cf. also *JRAS.*, 1942, 243) shows again clearly that *knpy* means *moins* and is not a substantive, but the comparative of $k\beta ny$ “little”. As pointed out in *BBB.*, p. 68 (on 546), *knpy* = Man. *kmbyy* is $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega\nu$. Hence, *knpy* from *kambiyah-*, but $k\beta n-$ from **kabna-* = **kmbno-*.¹ The word corresponding to *knpy* in Persian, *kam*, is similarly used, cf. Pers. *sad yak kam* = 99; cf. also Bang *apud* Marquart, *Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschr.*, p. vi, n. 3, where *bir kem otuz* = 29.

113. $'W$ copyist's mistake for $'t$? The entry in the *Glossaire*:— $'W$, *ou* (*passim*), is hardly justified. This word occurs neither in these, nor in other Sogdian texts. “Or” is $'WZY$; similarly, “and” is $'PZY$, but never $*'P$.

¹ One wonders how often more “*MPT. kambišt*” will be quoted. No such word is attested. Cf. *OLZ.*, 1934, 751.

119. *ny'wδ*. The reading is confirmed by Man. *nywδ γρβγγ* (?), M 502¹R 1 (out of context) = as far as one knows (?).

145. *zγ'rš-* may be *ny'rš-*. Dhyāna 231 has been overlooked, "neither old age nor death befall him", cf. *BBB.*, 55, where Chr. *nzš-* was quoted.

151. *γnšy'kh*, the object of *w'c-*, should name the punishment which the king had imposed upon his prisoners and from which he should release (*w'c-*) them now. In view of *γnš'kh* "toil" (*SCE.*, 44) one could think of compulsory labour. Similarly *γnšn γnšn* P 2, 1043/4 = various efforts, or renewed efforts, while *γnš'y 'štn*, *VJ.*, 769, may be "he carried (the body of the cart on his neck)",¹ cf. the employment of *kašūdan* in similar contexts in Persian (*bār k-*). Or else, *γanšākh* may mean "captivity", shortened from *γranš-*, cf. *γr'nš*, *BBB.*, p. 63. One could thus account also for Sogdian *γnš* (*Sogdica*, p. 39, *h* 37), whose Middle Persian equivalent *bš* may reflect OIr. *bastra-* (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 87); this is true also of Persian *baš*, which was differently explained in *Sogdica*, p. 42. Not necessarily connected with either group is *γršy'kh*, P 13, 3. This is perhaps a measure of length? "He (Rustam) came close (from *β'w-* "to approach") to the town by one thousand feet, or paces"?

163. *kršn* here corresponds to "beauty" in Liebenthal's translation. This further confirms the opinion put forward in *BBB.*, p. 93 (cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 37).

165. *γ'ttwnh* corresponds to "wives of the princes" in Liebenthal's translation, but M. Demiéville gives *la seconde femme (de l'empereur)*. One would have valued an explanation of this divergence.

167. *β'mkyr'nt conseillers, ministres qui secondent* is a puzzling word. Would it be permissible to regard it as a case of semi-translation of the equally mysterious Persian title *kanārang*, *Χαπαράγγης*, which may have been analysed as *kanār + rang*? For Sogdian *β'm* = Persian *rang*, and Sogd. *kyr'n* = Pers. *kanār*.

167. *'ynδ'yth les dames* may belong to Wakhi *indigunj*, Yidgha *idiko*, etc., "slave-girl."

185. *ryncwk litt.* "enfantin", d'où "bénin". Not a happy etymology. In P 12, 55, it is opposed to *γr'n* "heavy". Hence = "light". See also *Tales*, 482, n. 5.

193. *kyc* conceivably = Persian *gīč* (modern *gīj*) "giddy, stupefied, perplexed".

197. *kwntk* is an ingenious, but apparently rather uncertain, reading, to judge by the facsimile.

¹ *βstγwnp'y 'skwn*, *ibid.*, 771, must mean "she pushed the wheel". This reveals a root of five consonants, (*fra +*) *stγnp*, or at least four, **stγm*, if *-np-* = *-mb-* developed from an original *-m-*. Hence compare Pahl. *stahm*, *stahm(b)ak*, and *Vistahm*.

*Misprints and Minor Points*P 2-6¹

P 2.—17 'krt'. 22 *rtšy pr 'ws'wyt'k*. 25 'zw'n "life". 26 *y't'k*. 27 'myh. 30 *prywnk* (here and P 7, 193) = *prnywnk*? 40 *c'wn*. 55 *δ't'kh* "law"; *rtšth*, too, prob. subst. "truth". 89 copyist's mistake for *cywyšn*. 93 [*c'n'kw ZY*] omitted by the scribe before *ZK*. 96 'ns'yt'k. 101, 116, 154 *γypδh*. 106 copyist's mistake for *pryw*. 157/8 "care cannot be taken (to prevent) that (*rt'y*) the son might kill". 160 copyist's mistake for *p'rZY* (here = rather, even); *rtyšw*. 162 *ZNH* (not in index). 164 'st'y opt., "(if there) were." 166 *βrz* also *VJ.*, 1131; here = rather. 167/9 "and need not realize successive re-births when he dies". 172 *ZKZY*. 176 *mz'y'gh*. 209 "this vengeance follows (pres.) him who (*ZKZY*) has taken (impf.) my sweet life". 219 'w'y'wrt. 232 *pyšy*. 235 'γ'zt "begins . . . to kill"; omit 'r'y'nt from glossary. 246 *ZY* (instead of *ZK*). 251 *m'skh*; "that the butcher's means increase." 262 "merciless is he that buys". 269 "meat-production"? Cf. 286, and also 347 "it is very wicked to prepare (produce) meat"? 271 'nypδ'y uncertain; poss. 'nzpδ'y (or 'zn-). 293 'δ'kw. 298 *zy'y-* as *z-y'y-* occurs in unpublished texts. 305 *ZKwyh*. 307 *γwny*. 323 *péché*, read *meurtre*. 328 *γwny'w*. 335 *γrβygh*? 359 *nt* (also gloss.) read *ZK*. 361 'ndβy-, cf. Gershevitch, § 293. 363 *ZK* read *ZKw*. 366 cf. *Sogdica*, 16, 18, "stability? station?". 390 On *zm'wr'k* see Gershevitch, § 380. 401 *cytk* from *kaēta-*, Gauthiot, *Gramm.*, i, 97. 419 "his food is not well digested" (as Skt. *pac-*, BR. meaning 3). 432 some kind of *vātavyādhi*, cf. Pers. *bād . . . xēzād* (often in *Muw.*). 433 *knpy'strh* "particularly short" (relative of *knpy*). 467 *pn'yšt*. 509 *y't'yn'k*. 513 *prw'y'nt*. 523 *syδrt*, no doubt copyist's mistake for *srδyt*. 546 *m'th*. 551 'šk'yrt'y (also gloss.). 557 *γwy'r* read *γwy'rstr*. 582 "on the morrow, to-morrow" rather than *tôt*. 609 insert *ZNH* after 'PZY. 621 'pw read 'kw; "how could I dare . . . not to listen." 635 *wyrkyh*. 639 *sk'rn'k*. 641 -*škr'k*. 642 *γwn* a particle? 665 *ZNH* read *γh*. 672/3 "so that you shall eat it, all you monks, as if". 689 *rtšy*. 713 *pcywδ'* (also gloss.). 785 cf. also Parth. *tyšt-yn*, *BSOS.*, IX, 88. 815 the MS. has *ptr'yδry*, corrected into -*δky* (or vice versa); was -*δrky* intended = *ptr'yšky* 458? 850/1 from *ā + karš*, cf. also *Sogdica*, 29 (e 11). 866/7 "except for a Buddha's or Bodhisattva's expedient (*upāya*)"; Chin. differs. 875 *z'rcn'wk'*. 891 copyist's mistake for *pw'rt'y*. 892 *kwyšt-* (if = sesame) = *kyišt* < **kyiñšt* < **kyiñēt* < *kunčit*? 923 *zw'rt*. 954 lit. "and walk in such matter" = "and act accordingly". 966 *srδ* left out after *RYPW*. 969 *pyrnm'str*. 983 *δwyth*. 992 cf., e.g., *Mahāvayutpatti*, 15, 16 (ed. Minayev). 1010 *mystk'r'k*. 1044 'škrt'y. 1052 *prwy'w'k* (also 214) here synonym of *yp'k* = *dveṣa*? 1067 insert *pyδ'r* before *ZKwh*. 1071 *ctβ'r* is correct, but the MS. has *ctβ'k*. 1077, 1082 *pātux* "on his guard" from *pāta + axw*? 1085 'wyh *tmyh*; *mr* perhaps meant to be cancelled, the scribe having begun to write

¹ To save space, where no confusion is possible only those readings are given which are correct in my opinion. Thus, "P 2, 17 'krt'" means that in that line the MS. seems to have, in my view, 'krt' instead of 'krt'y.

mr(ch). 1098 'yh read 'znh "knowledge". 1110 z'ygyz'k, cf. Pers. *xazīdan* "creep". 1154 *srw* "head" ? 1161 "pwh is emendation; MS. 'npwh. 1163 pδ'rβ-, cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 4. 1168 'βs'yp-, possible connections, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 3. 1176 'rt'wpsyh. 1181 *nyz'nt*. 1189 'cw. 1207 γrδ'k poss. = γδ'kh, P 7, 64 = Man. γδy' (?), *BBB.*, 105. 1223 prβ'yrv is subj., not impf. (which is pr'yβ'yrv). 1230 *srw*.

P 3.—4 ZK. 11 ZY read 'ny "other". 15 "it quickly heals and gets better". 24 Enter *L* at end of line. 41 'ns'ytch. 48/9 "unlimited", *Sogdica*, 27 sq. 50/1 "early in the morning, before eating (Gershevitch, § 63) or talking". 57 "his words are going = fluent ? successful ?". 82 p'tz'r'k. 97 "cannot easily be set forth". 108 *frawēd-*, cf. *Tales*, 484 sq. 110 'zw'nh not quite certain; poss. 'w'nh ("w'zh). "*Elle est belle*" has no equivalent in the Sogdian text. 112 *rtšy*. 125 prδync is correct, but MS. prδyc. 129 pr'yink "damask", see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 150 sqq. 142 nγs'yr. 158 MS. prδ'nkh, corrected *prima manu* to prδynch. 174 *wyspn'c*. 179 *pw* read [Z]Kw. 206 βwδn(-βr'n). 209 "the living beings of the whole world", cf. above on P 2, 636. 251, 282 "sheep". 267 "to hide", cf. *Sogdica*, 33. 284 restore Reichelt's translation, "after boiling it", cf. Gershevitch, § 932.

P 5.—8 nβyy, and first 'PZY read ZKZY (with Gauthiot). 21 "z'wny (with Gauthiot). 24 rather [w]β'n[t]k (cf. *Tales*, 471, n. 4) as Chin. has 網 "net, web, trap". 28 *pwyny't* (in gloss. *pwyny't*) read *pwyny'/t*, two words (with Gauthiot). 47 "z'wny (with G.). 65 pcγrβ't (with G.). 79 "βrys'k (with G.). 90 'ws'wyt'. 94 "myt'. 95 kšytkrp = *Kṣitigarbha*. 96 γwt'w. 98 'ws'wty. 105 wyc'w'k, "come to witness the confession of my sins." 106 [yw] δ[rγ]wšky t'nm'n "I, this Bhikṣu of such and such name". 'wyc'wyt' read 'ws'wyt' ? 113 prw'yt (from prw'c-). 116 cf. Man. *psyp-*, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 3 (see also above on P 2, 1168).

P 6.—9 stp'δ'k. 12 ZKw. 13 "ys't. 29 'dry is not translated. 33 "z'wny. 35 'PZYšy. 42 β in 'βc'npδyk with a hook below. 47 'YKZYn. 49, 63 p'yr. 51 mwck'. 54 'wyh. 62 šw'mntk. 66 pδβr- "stage" (thus here, too, acc. to Liebenthal's transl.). 78 'zy'ms'y, 2nd letter poss. damaged, meant to be "y- as in 80 ? 81 'wyh. 83 Enter *rt*y before 'ncnδst. 89 ZK. 91 γwtγwštk. 94 z't. 98 'myh. 115 ZY; wrnty. 127 ZKw. 130 pršt't (also comm. and gloss.). 139 rnk'n. 146 'sp'yn'w'y. 150 m'ytr is *maitrī*, not *mitra*. 151 prk'yšt'yt, corrected *pr.m.* from *pkk-*. 168 r'βyh. 179 'PZYn. 184 c'γwn'kw. 191 ZKw.

P 8 Colophon

166. *srδy 'my βyp'wr stny 'kw δrw'nēknδyh*. As these first words of the colophon are followed by a date of the common Central Asian kind which tells us precisely nothing (15.6 of the Tiger year), they are unlikely to contain a date too. M. Benveniste's translation, "*l'année du prince . . . , à Tuen-Houang*" cannot be correct, if only because Sogdian grammar requires that the word for prince precede that for year (cf. e.g. Reichelt, ii, 70, 34). Thus

srδy may be different from *srδ-* “year”; or else the scribe intended to put in a sensible date, leaving a line blank for the purpose, but forgot to do so. Neither explanation can be viewed with favour. It is something of an understatement to render *βγp'wr* as “prince”; the *βaypūr/Fayfūr* (on the origin of the term see *BSOS.*, X, 94, n. 2)¹ was the Emperor of China. And *βγp'wr stny* “the land of the Fayfūr” is necessarily “China”. M. Benveniste has not always recognized the value of the suffix *-stn-*, which corresponds to Persian *-stān* (see Gershevitch, §§ 122, 1118); thus *'yntwkstny* “(in) India”, P 21c, 17, is read *°st'y* in the edition and assumed to mean “*période (ou vie) antérieure*”. It is interesting to note that those Sogdians that lived in China abandoned the older name of that country, *čynstn*, which they had used in the “Ancient Letters”.²—*'my* is the locative of the *im-* pronoun,³ see Benveniste, *Gramm. Sogd.*, ii, 126, cf. also Man. *my, Tales*, 476 (G 20). Hence, “. . ., in China in the town of Throana.”

167/8. 4 *kwtr'y*, read *γ'n kwtr'y*; *npt'yr* read *n'pt'yr* (also in 173). Thus the name of the gentleman who ordered the copy (not the scribe, as M. Benveniste assumes) was “Čurak, the son of Nāftīr, of the family of Han” (as stated already, *JRAS.*, 1944, 139, n. 3). At the time when this colophon was written (eighth century ?) the Sogdians in China appear to have adopted Chinese family names; there is no trace of such designations in the *Ancient Letters*. Cf. Reichelt, ii, 70, “the lay-man Čatfārātsarān, of the family of An” (dated in A.D. 728). *BRY* “son”, cf. also *Sogdica*, 59.

169. *pčmy* = Saka *pajsamā* ? A loan-word from Khotanese ? Sogdian *-č-* may represent *-dz-* (and *-ts-*), cf. Gershevitch, §§ 71–2.

171. Here begins the long list of persons whom Han Čurak wants to share in the *punya* accruing to him in reward for the modest sum he spent on his copy of the *Avalokiteśvaranāmāśaśatakasūtra*. He expects much for very little. He wishes he could do more: “. . . that I shall not be reborn⁴ as a stingy man, who does not give, but that I shall be rich enough to build, at my expense, a big monastery . . .” (194 sqq.), but the execution of his wishes has to be postponed to his next rebirth. In addition to the parallel passages quoted by M. Benveniste in his commentary (p. 217), one could refer to the colophon following the confession-prayer of the *upāsikā* Ūtrāt, *Uigurica*, ii, 80 sq., where *bu buyan ādgū qilīnčīy avīrar-mn* corresponds to *ywn'k pwrny'nyh šyr'krtyh ptwyδ'm*. The names of the beneficiaries are given in the dative case in Uyğur, but are followed by *δst'* in Sogdian. M. Benveniste translates *δst'* as “hand” and explains that *sa main symbolise l'appui spirituel qu'il* [= each beneficiary] *a prêté au copiste*. Could one not rather assume that the word for “hand(s)” was devalued in Sogdian in the same way as it was in Persian (and many other languages, e.g. Hebrew) ? . . . *δst'*, or *cnn* . . . *δst'* may mean

¹ Sogd. *βrpš-* “pregnant” (mentioned there) has been left untranslated in P 22, 18.

² *synst'n* in the Si-an-fu inscription is the Persian term.

³ Care should be taken not to confuse it with *'my*, the suffixed pronoun of the first person, as in VJ. 18, 462, 524, 570; even *'myh* VJ. 689; ordinarily *-my*.

⁴ “*zy'n*, 1st pers. subj. of “*zy-*”. M. Benveniste has a different explanation.

merely "for, to the benefit of . . .". Cf. MPers. *pd dst 'y* = "for", *Mahrnāmag*, 200, Pashto *lāsta* "direction, towards", etc.

172. 'By' should be 'BY'; *mync* presumably the name of Han Čurak's grandfather. *'rwtprnδ'yh* and *'rwtprn-č* (175) may contain Av. *aurvant-* (here short for *aurvaṭ.aspa* ?); on *Haurvatāt-* in Sogdian see *Sogdica*, 19.

174. *mrkth* = "Emerald", see *Sogdica*, p. 26; 175 "PZY r. 'PZY.

177. *ptr'yδ'mskwn*, surely a copyist's mistake for *ptw'yδ'mskwn* ?

178/9. *βytw'č* "Gift (lit. emission) of Fortune" ? *γwt'ywrh* read *γwtzywrh*, with *-zywr-* "necklace, ornament".

181/2. *znyprn* read *nyy-prn* "having good fortune from Nanai", cf. *Sogdica*, p. 7.¹ *stčry* "having a hundred courses" ? Possibly *my'mnyh* (which then could be misspelling of *my'm'yh*) ?

183/4. *tytč*, rather *t'tč* (also considered in the edition). *γwt'yt* read *γwtz't*; *nnpkkn* read *nnpkrz* (-z distinguished), or *znpkrz*; both names were useful for foundlings, "Self-born" and "Shore-miracle", the last would have fitted Moses admirably.

185/6. *k's'k*, cf. *q's'nc* *Mahrnāmag*, 146, see *BSOS.*, IX, 567. *ynt'*, perhaps rather *yzt'* "divine" ? *my'δ'yh* read (*wδyh*) *m'γδ'yh*, the late wife of Han Čurak (cf. *Sogdica*, p. 7). *r'w'γš* = **rēwaxš* ? Cf. *rywxšy'n* *Mahrnāmag*, 100, where *ruwxšy'n* is a mistake.

186. *wk'wr* can perhaps be elucidated with the help of a so far unpublished Man. fragment, T ii D ii 169, i R 8 (Sogd. script), "δy wty' nyst wyrky rm γ'w o šrwyy pryw wkury' nyst γyδ 'rk tw' γypδ m'γwny' γw. This is rather cryptic, "With a cow the wolf has no great bother, but with a lion he has no easiness. Your position is wholly like that." Here *wkur-y'* is opposed to *wty'* "trouble, difficulty" (see Gershevitch, § 1070), hence "easiness". Or should it be "association" ?

188. Enter *cnn* before *L' ptz'n*. Here is an instructive example of the divergence which may arise when the meaning of a word has to be guessed from the context. For *pryrs* M. Benveniste suggests "*les défunts*".² In *JRAS.*, 1944, 139, n. 3, "concubine, slave-girl" was proposed. I owe thanks to Professor Tritton for supporting my guess with a striking etymology: Hebrew *pilāgāš* "concubine", generally compared with *παλλακίς*. (etc.) "*pellex*". The word, whose ultimate origin has not been settled yet, may have been borrowed by Sogdian in ancient times from Old Persian, where foreign *-l-* was regularly replaced by *-r-* (cf. the case of *harāj* < **harāka* < Aram. *halāk*, *Orientalia*, iv, 291-3). The second *-r-* of *pryrs* is due to inverse spelling; *pryš* in the Manichæan fragment is the better form.

190. *'sktm* read *'sk'tm*.

¹ *δ'p'tsyγ*, *ibid.*, can be explained now. *syγ* appears to be synonymous with *žām* "fine". E.g. M 568, 12 *šyr syγ ptryδ* (Man. script) "mix very finely".

² Thus, *δnn pryrs* 'PZY *δnn* "z'wnt" "*avec les défunts* (?) *et avec les vivants*" (191/2), but "z'wnt" is "children". The proper meaning of "z'wn-" is "that which has been born (or re-born)", whence "child" and "anything born" "a (living) being". It is never found in opposition to "deceased". The dead also were born.

195. 'δβ'nz may be 'δβ''z and therefore represent OIran. *θuāja-, cf. the words treated in *BSOS.*, X, 105; *Sogdica*, 32. In this case, as in many others, -' and -n- are not easily distinguished, although they are formed in different ways. As regards Av. (da)qaz-, it has been claimed for Sogdian δβ'nz " broad, thick " by M. Duchesne-Guillemin, *BSOS.*, IX, 864, who ascribed this etymology to *BBB.*, p. 124. It is pertinent to state that in that book Sogd. δβ'nz was compared only with the noun Av. qazah- (which should reflect older *dabqazah-) and attention was drawn to the Pahlavi translation of the verb GAv. dabqaz-, without the expression of an opinion on the presence or absence of a relation between those Avestan words. See also *Tales*, 472, n. a. The verb Av. (da)qaz- was quoted for Parthian bz-, *Mir.Man.*, iii, 897.

198/9. Preferably " by blankets (and) rugs (and) couch . . . with nursing and service " ; *rtȳ my* read *rtȳ ms* ; *šȳr'k rtȳh* (with a strange explanation, also in P 12, 18) read *šȳr'krtyh*.

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(* = uncertain. † = wrong)

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¹ Dr. I. Gershevitch has put me under a great debt of gratitude by reading the proofs of this article and kindly adding the index during my absence from this country.

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Two Manichæan Magical Texts with an Excursus on the Parthian Ending -ēndēh

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Two Manichæan Magical Texts with an Excursus on The Parthian ending *-ēndēh*.

By W. B. HENNING

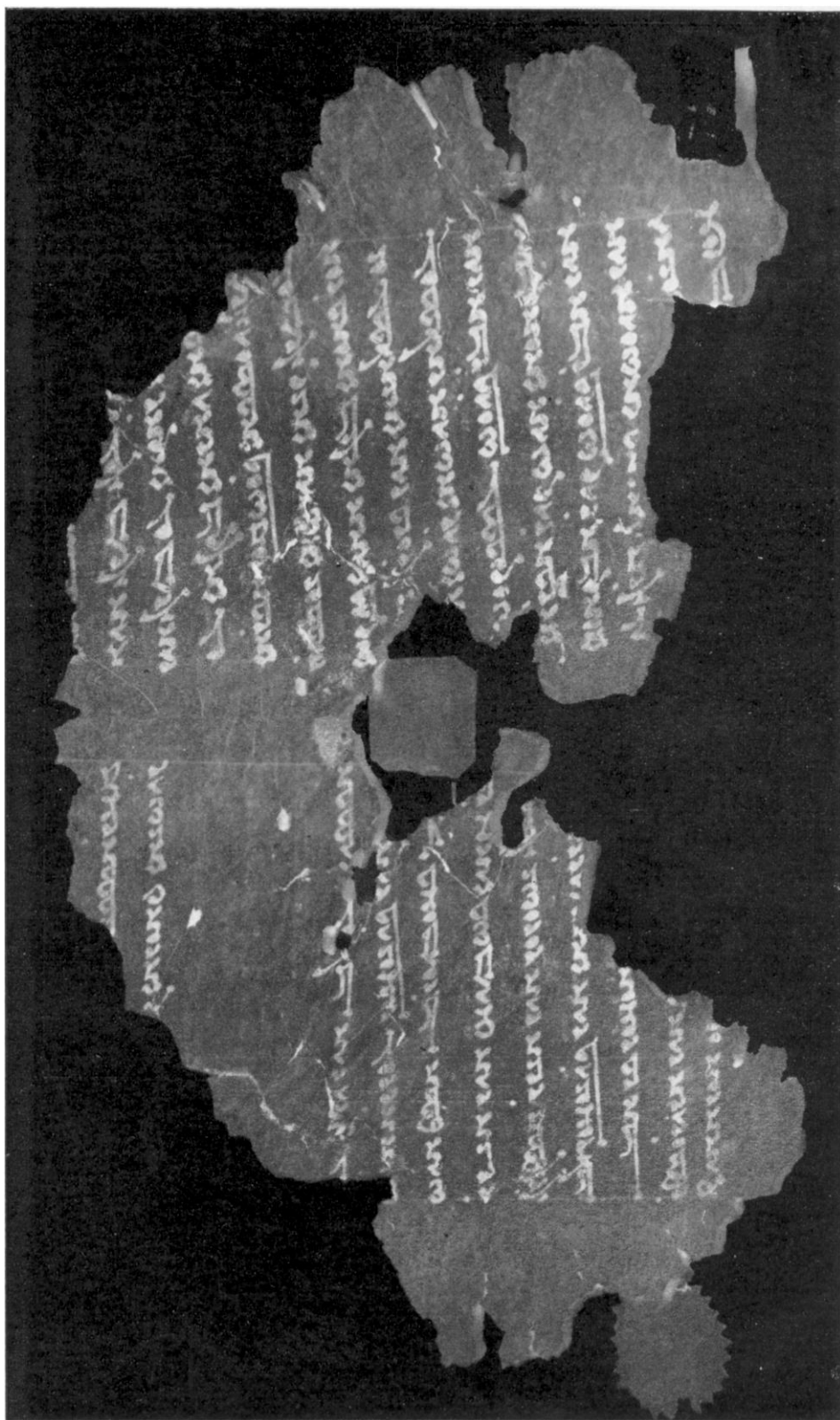
(PLATES I AND II)

IT is surprising that the Manichæan religion did not become altogether submerged in the slime of witchcraft and sorcery. There were countless demons to be warded off and nearly as many divine and semi-divine beings that could be invoked. Mani, it is true, had regarded his "gods" as hardly more than exponents of particular functions of the Godhead, and had been conscious of the inadequacy of the anthropomorphic terms he had ill-advisedly employed: *the resplendent hosts*, he said in his *Treasure of Life*, *will be called young women and virgins, fathers and mothers, sons, brothers and sisters, because such is the custom in the books of the prophets. In the country of joy there is neither male nor female . . . they do not differ from each other in weakness and force, in length and shortness, in figure and looks; they are like similar lamps which are lighted by the same lamp and nourished by the same material* (Beruni, *India*, transl., i, 39). But in the minds of his adherents, who were not all theologians, the shadowy "emanations" were bound to take on the character of gods that could scarcely be distinguished from the gods of polytheists. The Manichæan custom of "translating" even the names of gods, no doubt meant to ease the work of missionaries by giving a misleading tinge of familiarity to the strange new religion, made matters worse. The introduction of divinities whose names the translators light-heartedly used, had in its train the import of beliefs with which they were associated in the local cults. They tended to bring their friends and attendants with them. Such an additament to an already overgrown pantheon was, for example, the Iranian First Physician *Frēdōn*, the *Θραῖταονα* of the Avesta, whose name is as common in Manichæan prayers and incantations as in Zoroastrian amulets (see e.g. J. J. Modi, *Charms or Amulets for some diseases of the eye*, Bombay, 1894).

The influence of local religions upon the later Manichæism is hardly noticeable in theological works, except in a few rare instances. To trace it we have to turn to more popular productions, such as prayers that are on the verge of being incantations, or magical texts in the proper sense. Of the latter there are quite a few among the Iranian material, but none have been published so far. The two specimens given below exhibit some curious points; they would have shocked the founder of the Manichæan Church.

I. Middle Persian Spells (Plate I)

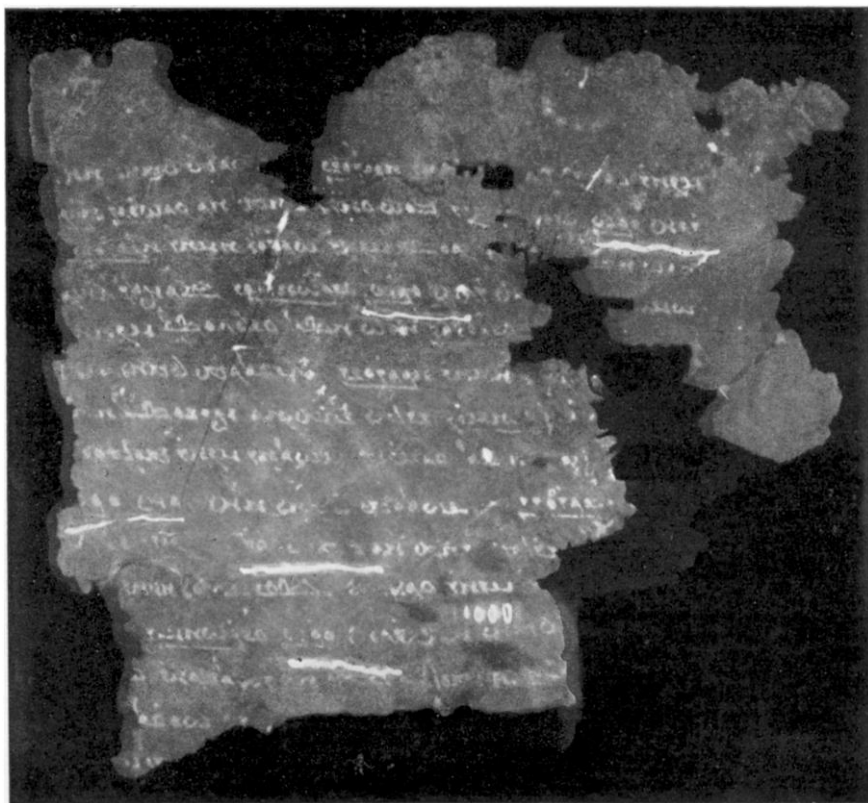
M 781. Fairly well preserved two-leaved folio, first lines missing. Largish, clear handwriting. The fragment contains two texts, which are not connected with each other. The first (i) is a spell against fever, remarkable chiefly for



p. 38]

[nat. size

MIDDLE PERSIAN SPELLS
(M 781 i R and ii V)



p. 39]

[nat. size

A PARTHIAN AMULET
(*Verso* page)

the appearance of the griffin *Paškuč*. The second (ii) is to give protection against the evil spirits of a house; the description of the protecting genius is not unlike that of the “spirit of fever” in (i).

(i R) (1) mhr'spnd[ⁿ] (2) rwšn'n j'yd'n z[yw'd oo] (*Three lines left blank*) (3) 'pswn 'y tb 'wd w(')[d] 'y (4) [. . .] 'wd xwnyhyd 'ydr' '[wš] (5) [s]h phyqyrb 'st 'wš (6) (p)r c'wn pšqwc 'wd 'ndr (7) [. . .](d)g nšydyd 'wd 'ndr mstgrg (8) ['y m]rdwhm'n 'wd xwnyhyd tb (9) [z'yhyd pd 'b (10) [] 'wd 'dwyrstr (11) [] 'yd'wn

(i V) (12)[] ny šwyd 'wn (13) [.] 'y 'w'hm'n 'y (14) ['w'hm](ⁿ)n pws 'wzyh'd 'wd (15) [wny] bw'd pd n'm 'y xwd'wn (16) [y]yšw' 'ry'm'n pd n'm 'yš (17) [p]ydr bwrzyst pd n'm 'y w'xš (18) ywjdhr pd n'm 'y hndy[šyšn] (19) nxwstyn pd n'm 'y 'yl (20) ywjdhr pd n'm 'y bwbw. (21) pd n'm 'y mwmyyn 'y 'yryc[ⁿ ?] (22) myx'yl 'wd rwf'yl '[wd] (23) gbr'yl pd n'[m](24) 'wd wsyxwr p[](25) cβwt 'wd [

(ii R)(26) h[']m'g .[(27) prydwn nyr'm'd [(28) 'wm sh phyq[yrb] (29) 'wd prwdg 'y 'dwryn '[ndr] (30) 'yst'd hynd 'wd tb(r) ['y] (31) tyj 'wd wšwb'g pd ds(t) (32) d'rym 'wm šfšyr 'wd (33) [cy]l'n 'y hswd 'y 'rm's (34) ['y p'k pyr'mwn 'wb'yyd (35) 'wm 'spšwn 'yg gwyšn u (36) 'šnwyšn 'y prystg'n [. . .] (37) 'b'g 'st 'wd hft cyl'n (38) 'stft pwl'(wd) 'ym pd dst (39) [gry](ft)[] pd wzrg (40) 's]tft'n

(ii V)(41) [(wysp'n)(42)]'yg qdg 'wd (43)[wysp']n r'z'n 'y qdg 'wd (44) [wys]p'n w'd'n bzg'n 'y (45) (q)dg wysp'n xyšmyn 'pr'n (46) 'y qdg zn'n 'wš'n nyspwrđ (47) 'yryp'y'n bng'n 'wn kw zyy'n (48) ny 'st'n'n^{sic} 'wd pdyrg m[n ny] (49) 'yst'd^{sic} 'wš'n rwn '[pr'n] (50) 'wd 'br xwyš 'spyzyšn (51) 'bz'y'n 'wš^{sic}zwr 'pr'n (52) 'wd 'br xwyš zwr 'bz'y'n (53) 'wd 'wyš'n p'n'g mrg 'y (54) w'ny[(55) cy q[dg

Translation

(i R) . . . the elements . . . the Light ones. May he live for ever. [*End of a text.*] Spell against Fever and the Spirit of [Fever?]. It is called Idrā. It has three forms and wings like a griffin. It settles in the . . . and in the brain (?) of men. (Then) it is called Fever. . . . It is born in water . . . and ashes . . . thus. . . .

(i V) . . . [if the spirit of fever] does not go [of its own accord], then it shall come out [of the body] of NN. son of NN. and vanish in the name of the Lord Jesus the Friend, in the name of his Father the Highest, in the name of the Holy Ghost, in the name of the First Reflexion, in the name of Holy Ēl, in the name of Baubo (??), in the name of Mūmīn the son of Ērič (?), (in the name of) Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, in the name of . . . the glutton, [in the name of] Sabaoth and . . .

(ii R) . . . Frēdōn shall throw down . . . all. Three forms are in me, and a belly (?) of fire. In my hands I hold a sharp and stirring hatchet, I am girt with whetted sword and dagger of pure adamant, and have with me the whip of speech and hearing of the angels. . . . The seven daggers (of) hard steel that I have grasped with my hand . . . in great . . . the hard ones . . .

(ii V) . . . all the . . . of the house, all the occult things of the house, all the

evil spirits of the house, all the wrathful “robbers” of the house: I shall smite them and their downtrodden underfoot slaves so that they will not take up arms and stand against me. I shall take away their light and add it to my brightness, I shall take away their strength and add it to my own. Death that strikes . . ., is watching for them (?) . . .

Notes

(3) *w'd* rather = spirit (as in line 44) than “wind(-illness)”.

(4) *'ydr* may be the name of the spell or the fever or its “spirit”. The ending proclaims it to be a foreign word. May one think of *ῥῥα*? The absence of the aspirate is against it. One is perhaps too easily tempted to explain unknown words as loanwords. In *Mir.Man.*, i, p. 183, line 4, I pretended¹ that *'bwws* was *ἄβυσσος*; now I see that it is merely = Pahl. *'pws* “pregnant” (Av. *apuθra*, Pers. *ābis-tan*,² etc.).

(6) *pšqwc* = griffin. Whether merely the spirit's wings, or his having three “forms” as well as his wings are here compared with the *pškwč*, is by no means clear from the wording. In the former case the author ought to have said *'wš pr c'wn pr 'y pškwč* “and its wings are like the wings of P.”, in the latter *'wd pr* in the place of *'wš pr*. In the construction of their comparisons, similes, and parables the Manichæan authors are notoriously lax. Our soothsayer's negligence makes it impossible to determine from our text, taken by itself, whether the *pškwč* was an animal noteworthy merely for the shape of its wings, or an extraordinary winged creature possessed of several “forms”. The second alternative recommends itself, in view of the character of the text and the other forms of the word quoted below. Having several “forms” (*pahikirb*) means being a composite monster of the type of the winged bull, the griffin, etc. The Manichæans boasted a King of Darkness who was even *πεντάμορφος* (*μορφή* = *pahikirb*): he had a lion's head, an eagle's wings, a dragon's belly, demons' feet, and a fish's tail, cf. Polotsky, Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.*, vi, 250. That the *Pškwč* = *Paskuč* was a griffin or a monster like a griffin, is assured by a series of words in other languages. The words are throughout extremely rare: we have one example in Man. MPers. and Parthian, one in Pahlavi, one in the Babylonian Talmud, two in Armenian, one in Svanetian, two in Ossetic, and several in Georgian. The Caucasian words have been the subject of a long paper by N. Ya. Marr, *Ossetica-Japhetica*, i. *Φαγονῖ-ι osetinskix skazok i yaphetičeskij termin faskund* “mag”, “*v'estnik*,” “*v'eščaya ptica*” (*Izv. Ross. Ak. Nauk*, 1918, 2069–2100; with an addendum, *ibid.*, 2307–2310), who did not know of the other forms: the meaning “Magian”, etc., attributed to the word by Marr has no basis in fact: it is founded merely on “Japhetite” speculations. The archaeological evidence

¹ *prystr(-dys)*, *ibid.*, line 2, is *frest*, corruption of Av. *xrafstra-*. There is much to be said for deriving Bal. *rastar* from the same word. Restore *prystr 'y zmyg* in M482 v 7.

² Also in Man. MPers. (*S* 11 and *Mir.Man.*, ii). But Parthian *'bystn* (once in *Mir.Man.*, iii) is presumably “delay, respite”, = Sogdian (*'*)*pstnh* (see *S.T.*, ii; cf. possibly also Av. *apastananhō* *BSOS.*, x, 509).

has been collected by K. V. Trever in a book, *Sēnmurov-Paskuŭ* (Izd. Ermitaž, 1937), which I have been unable to obtain, and in an article in the *Trudi Otdela Vostoka* (of the Ermitaž), vol. iii, 1940, 167 sqq., which I have seen. Mme. Trever describes the monster as “the winged dog (*krilataya sobaka*) of the Ossetic epic” and quotes the word as *Ossetic paskuŭ, paskondzi*; such forms are not found in the Ossetic material available here. She wants to add a Ukrainian beast *Paskuda* to the series; of this I cannot judge, her book not being accessible; one would require convincing proof of its being unconnected with the ordinary Russian appellative *paskuda* “monstrosity”. The following forms of the word can be regarded as certain:—

(1) Talm. פושקנצא = *pušqanšā*, *Bāḇā baṭrā* fol. 73b, with a variant פושקנצא: one wonders whether the word was פושקונצא = **pašqunšā* originally. It is traditionally explained as a female raven: what it really means is evident from the context. In 1639 Buxtorf translated (col. 1863): *vidi hhy' 'grwqt' istam ranam* [??] *quae erat tam magna ut Akra* [אַקרא] *pagus Hagaroniae. Pagus hic quam magnus erat? sexaginta continebit domos. Venit serpens et deglutivit ranam* [mispr. *ramum*]: *'t' pwšqns' wbl'h l-tnyn' venit corvus et deglutivit serpentem et consedit in arbore quadam. Vide quantum fuerit robur istius arboris . . .* The gigantic dragon-eating *corvus* is a griffin.

(2) Man. MPers. *pškwc* = *Paškūč*.

(3) Pahlavi *bškwc* = *baškūč*. In *Pahl. Riv.*, 22¹⁰, it is said that the Spirit of the Drōn will fight with certain demons, “ninety-nine times will it fight as fiercely as *tnn' bškwc*.” As the text stands, this would mean “as the bull (*TWR'*) *bškwc*” or “as bull and *bškwc*”; one would think of a “winged bull”. However, *tnn'* may be a rare word misspelt. Should we not read **tnyn'* (*w*) *bškwc* “. . . as fiercely as dragon and griffin”? Unfortunately, *tnyn'* = *tannūnā*, too, is not hitherto known as a Pahlavi word; it could be either loanword or ideogram (for *aždahāg*?). Professor Bailey, to whom I submitted this reading, suggested that *tnyn'* would be a suitable reading also in *DkM.*, 816¹³, a passage he discussed in *Zor.Probl.*, 29 sq.: *kayān xvarreh *tannūnā* (pr. *ty'n*) *kerb būd* “the *xvarreh* of the Kays took the form of a dragon”.

(4) Armenian *paskuč* translates γρῦψ in *Lev.*, 11, 13 (Marr 2083). In the Armenian Geography the *paskuč hav* “bird *Paskuč*” (in the Whistons' edition, p. 366²⁷) is among the strange animals of India (Marr, 2084 sq.). Marr discussed the explanations given by dictionaries (“a bestial bird, which is called *korē*”, p. 2083, n. 3), in which a Middle Armenian spelling *pasquē* is registered (p. 2087); in an unpublished medieval dictionary it is glossed by “bone-swallower” (“ossifrage”),¹ p. 2087, n. 2.

(5) Georgian *p'askunji*, var. *p'ask'uji* translates γρῦψ in *Deut.*, 14, 13 (Marr, 2083). In late medieval versions of the *Shahname* *p'askunji* renders Pers. *šimury* (Marr, 2085 sq.). According to Orbelian the *p'askunji* is “in body like a lion, his head, beak, wings, and feet are like those of an eagle;

¹ Cf. Pers. *humāi* (1) a mythical bird, (2) = Pers. *ustuxšān-xšār* “ossifrage (osprey)”. The confusion is ultimately due to the use made of γρῦψ in the Septuagint.

he is downy; some of them are four-legged, some two-legged; he carries off elephants, hurts horses; there is also another kind, which is quite like an eagle, but very big" (Marr, 2083). Orbelian has also *paskunji* (with the non-aspirate *p*), Marr, 2307, n. 1. In a modern fairy-tale *p'askunji* occurs (Marr, 2087). There is also a popular dialect-form *p'askund* or even *p'asgund* (Marr, 2088). All these are evidently corrupt forms. The old and classical spelling is *p'askunji* alone.—The following two are loanwords from Georgian:—

(5a) Svanetian *p'aysguj* in a folk-tale, from *p'asguj-i* by metathesis (Marr, 2082).

(5b) Ossetic *pakondzi*, a winged creature with seven heads, in Miller's *Osetinskie Et'udi*, i, 64–8, 126. In an Ossetic tale recorded merely in Russian the same beast is called *Paskondi*, *ibid.*, i, 146, 161 n. 15 (Marr, 2079 sq.). The latter, which obviously comes from vulgar Georgian *p'askund*, is not recorded in the Ossetic-Russian-German dictionary (ii, 907, only *pakondzi*). Marr explains the absence of *-s-* in one form as due to the influence of a language of the type of Mingrelian (p. 2096). [Professor Bailey kindly informs me that in an Ossetic book in his possession, *Iron Adämon Sfäldistad, fändzäm činig*, 1941, p. 204, he has found a one-page story entitled *Daredzanti Amiran ämä Pagündzä*^{sic} "A. of the Daredzan family and P." (cf. Miller *loc. cit.*), which thus provides a third Ossetic form of the word.]

There are thus only four chief forms: *pušqanšā* (**pašqunšā* ?), *paškuč* (with *baškuč*), *paskuč*, and *p'askunji*. Armenian and Georgian may have come from Middle Iranian **pašku(n)č/ġ*, but *-sk-* is strange. The Aramaic may have come from Iranian or vice versa; *-s-* can be = *-č-*, in either direction. Perhaps an Akkadian word?

(7) *ldg* or *rg*. Before the final letters some weak traces can be seen. They exclude the restoration of *prwdg* (line 29), which may belong to *prwd* "below". *nšyd-*, instead of *nšyy-*, is found only here; in Parthian we have *nšyd-* beside *nšyl-*. Whether *mstgrg* does in fact mean "brain" or "skull" (*mastər-ag* from Av. *mastrəyan-* Pahl. *masturg*), is open to some doubt: it was proposed in *BSOS.*, IX, 85, on the strength of our passage. However, the Parthian homograph is clearly "intoxicating" (*mastgarag* = Sogd. *mstk'r'k*) in the only passage on record, M 312, 9, *nrxwryn pyd 'wt sy[r]lyft bwy, bdyg mstgrg tyng*¹ "First, meat and smell of decay: second, intoxicating drinks". In Man. MPers. *mstgr* (*mastgar*) occurs once, M 246 V 11, [*j*]*m* . . . 'y *mstgr* "inebriating . . . cup", and there is a doubtful reading (*m*)*strg* in M 654, 17 (no context). Thus one could translate as "it settles in . . . and in men's intoxicating (drinks)". [Restore [*b'*]*dg* "must" ?]

(18) *hndyšyšn nrxwstyn*. In Gnostic parlance the "First Reflexion" (ἐνθύμωσις) would be the Σοφία: in Manichæism it should be the First Man. As a matter of fact, the First Man is named *Raisonnement antérieur* in the

¹ In MPers. = thirsty, but in Parthian = drink (cf. Sogdian *cš'nt* "drink" beside *cšn* "thirst").

Chinese *Traité*,¹ see Chavannes-Pelliot, p. 23 [519], n. 3. Unfortunately, the Chinese term 先意 does not precisely correspond to the Middle Persian *handēšišn narwistēn*: the usual rendering of *handēšišn* in the lists of the five “limbs of the soul” leads one to expect 先思. However, in view of the wider application of the term ἐνθύμησις in Manichæism (ἐνθ. of Life, ἐνθ. of Death: *andēšišnān žīwandagān*; *marčēnē šmāra*; *ōlūmlūg saqīnē*: Polotsky, *Mani-fund*, 78 sqq.; *BBB.*, 91), it will be better to regard the Chinese as a “terminologically inexact” translation; for that in our text the First Man is meant, should not be doubted.—Thus we need not involve ourselves too deeply in the intricacies of the so-called “macro/microcosmic correspondences” with which the Manichæan authors have caused us so much delight. But it should be pointed out that *hndyšyšn* could be used as a substitute for the name of the *Gloriosus Rex*, MPers. *Wādahrām̐yazd*. For *hndyšyšn* is the fourth of the five “limbs of the soul”, and the *Gloriosus Rex* is the fourth of the five Sons of the Living Spirit: the two series “correspond” to each other. We find it sometimes stated that not the “limbs of the soul” but the “Five Gifts” were so engaged (Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, 15, cf. my remarks in *OLZ.*, 1934, col. 5, n. 2; Polotsky, *Le Muséon*, xlv, 265), but this is an error induced by the Chinese *Traité*, 52 [548] sqq., where, however, the “Gifts” are merely said to *symbolize* the Sons of the Living Spirit (cf. below the note on line 43). We will admit that this error may already have been present in the mind of the man to whom we owe the *wohldurchdachte dogmatische Werk*, see Polotsky’s just remarks in *Mani-fund*, 77 (first lines). The true facts—if these mental aberrations can be described as *facts*—are plain from what Theodor bar Qōnai says: *L’Esprit Vivant . . . fit sortir de son intelligence l’Ornement de Splendeur . . . de sa réflexion le Roi de gloire et de sa volonté le Porteur* (Cumont, *Rech. Man.*, i, 22).² The relation between the two series is one of full identity in the *Kephalaia*, see Ch. xxxiii, especially p. 93, 9/10, “the great King of Glory who is the great ἐνθύμησις”. That it must be ascribed to Mani himself is proved by the occurrence of the term *Prm’ngyn yzd* in the fragment M 98, which there appears once as the name of Atlas, see *OLZ.*, 1934, 751–2. *Prm’ngyn yzd* is the god of *parmānag* = λογισμός, cf. *Kephalaia*, 91, 31, “the Ὠμοφόρος who is λογισμός”.

(20) *bwbw.*: the last letter cannot be read with certainty, but may be *wāw*. Hence *bwbw(w)*? The Greek Baubō is hardly worth considering.

(21) *mwmyn* ‘y ‘yryc[or ‘ydy[c. The restoration of ‘yryc[’n], i.e. the patronymic of Ērič, is merely tentative; a descendant of Frēdōn would be suitable here, but Ērič (Īraǰ) died sonless (Manūčīhr is sometimes said to have been his son). Or should we restore a finite verb, ‘yryc[yd] or ‘yryc[ynd], and regard *mwmyn* as a loanword (with strange ending) from Syr. *maumāthā* (pl. also *maumyāthā*), Talm. *mōmā* “oath, exorcism”? Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, i, 1603, quotes the stat.abs. pl. *kl mwmyn* “every kind of oath”. Hence,

¹ So also in the Chin. Hymn-scroll 124c.

² Cf. Chavannes-Pelliot, 24 [520], n. 1.

“in the name of the exorcisms that Michael, etc., ‘bound’”? If ‘*yryc-*’ is a verb, it could belong to Pahl. *bōxt ud ērixt* “freed and bound” (“acquitted and condemned”), see Bartholomae, *Sasan. Rechtsb.*, 23¹², and cf. *ZII.*, ix, 199¹⁷.

(31) *tyj* is “sharp” (root *taig*), and *tyz* is “quick” (root *tak*). Both have coalesced in Persian: *tīz* (*tēz*) 1. sharp, 2. quick. In *Kawān* A 69 *tyzyy* ‘*y ty[gr]*’ can only mean “speed of the arrow”.

(33) *cyl’n* (also 37) and ‘*spšwn*’ (35), see *Sogdica*, 23, 36. *hswd* = whetted, from *ham* and (Pers.) *sūdan*, cf. *hs’c-*, *ZII.*, ix, 227¹⁵, and *hs’r* from *ham-s-*; ‘*swd-dnd’n*’ *Sogdica* 21 is not clear. ‘*rm’s*’ here is evidently “the hardest metal, probably steel”, certainly not “diamond”, see also Bailey, *Zor.Probl.*, 134.

(34) ‘*wb’y-*’ (*ZII.*, ix, 188) seems to mean “to place” (or “suspend”?). Together with *pyr’mwn* it is found also in M 535/6, a fragment of the Šābuhragān, in line 36: ‘*wd h’n swcyšn ‘y xyšmyn ‘y nwn pyr’mwn h’mkyšwr ‘wb’ydyd* [‘*w*]d (p)rsp(y)d¹ u p’d ‘ystyd. In both passages ‘*wb’ydyd* is probably preterite. The meaning of Pahlavi ‘*wb’y-/hnb’y-*’, on which see Salemann, *Manichaica*, iv, 34/5, Bartholomae, *Mir.Mund.*, iv, 13 (*GrBd.*, 131³), is also far from clear.

(38) *pwl’wd* = Pahl. *pwl’pt* = Arm. *połovat* = Pers. *pūlād*. “Oriental damask steel,” cf. Zeki Validi, *ZDMG.*, 90, 27, 33.

(43) *r’z’n ‘y qdg*. The word for “secret, mystery” (*rāz*) is used for some kind of demons or evil spirits also in Mandæan. See Pognon, *Une incantation contre les génies malfaisants* [*MSL.*, viii, 1892], p. 21, “ils sont liés, les génies . . . les démons . . . tous les êtres mystérieux (*r’zy*) et mauvais . . . les fées etc.”, cf. p. 23. They are frequently mentioned in the *Qolastā*, see Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, pp. 4, 22, 36. Once we have there “360 mysteries that are in the house”, *r’zy’ dbgw b’yt* (22³). In the Manichæan texts *rāz* is nearly as multivocal as in Mandæan.² It occurs in the sense of “likeness, pattern, symbol” (cf. Syr. *rāzā*). Thus twice in M 727^c, a fragment of the Parthian original of the Chinese *Traité*. M 727^c 1 [*bdyg*] *rwc pd r’z ‘st cy b’m[y]stwn*] = *Traité* 71 [567], 1 *Ce jour . . . imite . . . Su-lu-sha-lo-i*, cf. the Turkish version for the third “day” (*kün tāñrikā*) *oγšayur yölāšür*, *T.M.*, iii, 18⁶⁻⁷; hence, “the second day is on the pattern (similitude, type) of the Column of Glory.” The second passage is M 727^c 12, . . . *rwc, ‘wš ‘ndrxt ‘w šb, pd nxwyn r’z* = *T.M.*, iii, 19¹¹⁻³ (*ymā*) *ōñrāki (xormuzta-tāñri sōñūšīñā) yölāšürü* = *Traité*, 72 [568], 10–12, *c’est un signe qui symbolise (la soumission du démon par) le premier (Envoyé de la Lumière)*³; hence, “on the pattern (likeness) of the first.” These passages, beside enabling us better to appreciate the value of the “symbolical signs” that make the *Traité* such delightful reading, make it possible to understand others that up to now caused difficulties. Thus M 42, 36 (*Mir.Man.*, iii, 879, 18), *twyc qr pyd’g wxybyh drgmnyft pd b’rwr’n rwšnn r’z*

¹ Probably *fraspīd* “thrown aside”, rather than *parispīd* (which should be spelled *pryspyd*); Av. *fraspaya-*.

² Cf. Beruni’s remark, *India*, p. 59 end (transl., i, 123).

³ The Chinese is here much closer to the Turkish than to the Parthian.

“you, too, like the burdened Light Ones, show your longanimity”; here I regarded *r’z* as a verbal form, while H. H. Schaefer¹ took it for the Parthian equivalent of OPers. *rādiy*, MPers. *rāy*.² However, *pd* . . . *r’z* is parallel to Syriac *bā-rāz* “*sicut*”. In the Middle Persian fragment M 219, 20 (*Mir.Man.*, ii, 312, 2, cf. Ghilain, *Langue Parthe*, 69, n. 35) *r’z* “*stw’nyy* ‘*wš’n* *wrwyšn*” probably means “the sacrament(s), the profession, and the belief in them”, cf. again Syr. *rāzā* “sacrament”.

(45) ‘*pr’n* “robbers”. As adjective ‘*pr* “predatory” (*ZII.*, ix, 175 sq.) is common as an epithet of demons. As substantive it occurs occasionally as the name of a class of demons, cf. T i M. 100, 112, *mzn’n dwy’n*³ ‘*wd* ‘*pr’n rp’g’n*⁴ ‘*wd* ‘*bd’g’n*⁵ ‘*rdykr’n ky mr ny* ‘*st* “the giants, . . ., robbers, assailants, attackers, and fighters, who are numberless” (all groups of demons). A passage of exceptional difficulty is S 9 a 24 (see *NGGW.*, 1932, 219 sq.), ‘*wm zynd’nyg* ‘*pr hynd dyw drwxš* ‘*wd hrw prygy*, where one would be tempted to translate “and my jailers are ‘robbers’, demons, *drušs*, and all peris”, if the meaning “jailer” could plausibly be suggested for *zynd’nyg*. In Persian we have *zindānī* for “prisoner” and *zindānbān* for “jailer”, and so also in Pahlavi, see e.g. *MhD.*, ii, p. 13⁹, *zynd’nyk* “prisoner” beside *zynd’nb’n* “jailer”, and in Pazend, e.g. *ŠGV.*, xvi, 25, 38, *zindānī* “prisoner”. However, there are some loanwords in Aramaic that apparently presuppose MPers. *zindānīk/g* “jailer”. In the homilies of Aphraates *zdynyqy’* (var. *zydynq’*) occurs once for “jailer”, and this has been restored as **zndnyq’* by Lagarde, but as **zndnqn’* by S. Fraenkel, see Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*², 201. In the Talmud there is a single passage (Taanith, fol. 22a) with *zndwq’* (*zndwqn’*) “jailer” (Levy, i, 545a), which again is either **zndnyq’* or **zndnqn’* (an Iranian **zindānagān* is, of course, possible).⁶ Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, i, 1141, has Mand. *zndyq’ custos, praefectus carceris etc.*, in the place of **zndnyq’*.

(46) *nyspwrd*, from *ni* + *spar*, not noticed elsewhere in Man. texts.

(48 sqq.) The text as it stands yields no meaning. I have assumed three mistakes, ‘*st’n’n* (48) for ‘*st’n’nd*, ‘*yst’d* (49) for ‘*yst’nd*, and ‘*wš* (51) for ‘*wš’n*.

(50) ‘*spyzyšn*, it should be noted, is here merely a stylistic variation on *rwšn*. Similarly M 842 R 5, ‘*spyzyšn* ‘*gr’w u rwšn prhyd*. In Parthian we have ‘*spyxt pdmwg* and ‘*spyxtyn pdmwg*, which recall the *zəhīthā* of the Acts of St. Thomas. There is also (*yyšw*) ‘*spyxt’n* as translation of Syr. *zīwā*. All this

¹ *Morgenland*, vol. xxviii, 106, n. 2.

² Which, however, is *r’d* in Parthian. With Persian *ba-rāy*, also *ba* . . . *rā*, Pahl. *PWN* . . . *l’d*, we can compare Sogdian *pyd’r* (*pyδ’r*) from *pati-dār*, cf. the old spelling *pytδ’r* in the *Ancient Letters*. Metathesis of the consonants (cf. Persian *bīdār*, *BSOS.*, X, 103, n. 1) is present also in the Khwarezmian postposition *dār*, cf. e.g. *ī fuft dār* = Ar. *ilā zauḥihā*, *apud* S. L. Volin, *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vii, 88; *ī nānām dār* “to N.N.” and *rāyyān šuylān dār* “for field work”, *apud* Freiman, *ibid.*, 314.

³ ‘*bd’g’n* . . . ‘*wd dwy’n*, *Mir.Man.*, ii, 316, 7, cf. *BSOS.*, IX, 82 (the preceding words may have been taken from the *Ascensio Jesaiae*, x, 13); *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 56, n. 2.

⁴ *BSOS.*, IX, 87.

⁵ S 12a 28; *Mir.Man.*, ii; *BBB*.

⁶ Dalman, *Aram.-Neuhebr. Wb.*, 123, proposed *zndnq’*.

ensures the meaning “to be light, bright, radiant”. On the other hand ‘*spyz-*’ occurs as “to sprout, blossom, be verdant”, and in this sense is spelt *spc-* in the Pahlavi Psalter, which indicates (ə)*spīz-* or (ə)*spēz-*. Thus [*sp*]*c*’*t*’ (so proposed *ZII.*, ix, 213³⁷) = Syr. *nā’pā*, Ps. 131¹⁸, “but upon himself shall his crown flourish,” and the causative *spcn’n* = Syr. *aḏnaḥ*, Ps., 131¹⁷, “there will I make the horn of David to bud.”¹ That one verb should comprise such a set of meanings is by no means surprising; it is sufficient here to refer to the above-mentioned Syr. ‘*p*’ “effloruit, luxuriavit, splenduit” and to Persian *sarv-i sahi*² from MPers. *sahik* “resplendent, showy” (cf. MPers. *srw b’mgw*, *Kawān* A 74). As *spc-/‘spyz-* = (ə)*spez-* can mean “to be verdant”, should one not connect with it Persian *sabz* “green, fresh, in full bloom”, *sabz šudan* “sprout, shoot, germinate” (etc.)? Although there are difficulties,³ this etymology of *sabz* may seem better than the one proposed by Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 66; *NTS.*, i, 66. To come to the origin of ‘*spyxt-/‘spyz-*’ itself, the obvious etymon is the Iranian base *sprg* (*sparg*) “to sprout, blossom”. The past participle **sprxta-* would become *sprixt* in early Middle Persian: for the rule is that -*g*- becomes brief vowel + *r* before a simple consonant, but *r* + brief vowel (generally -*i*-) before two consonants. As a word may not begin with three consonants, irrespective of a prothetic vowel,⁴ *sprixt* was necessarily shortened and became *spixt*; but where it was preceded by a preverb, no change took place, cf. Parth. *wyspryxt* (or Saka *haṣpṛiya* as against *spātai*). The present stem, **sprjya-*, would develop in the same manner, *sprjy-*⁵ > *spījy-* > *spīj-* > *spiz-* > (ə)*spiz-*. We have to call in the help of analogy to explain the noun ‘*spyg*, -*spyg*’ (Pahl. *spyk*, inverse spelling), i.e. (ə)*spig* < **sprig* < **sprga-* (which should have become **spurg*). Nyberg, *Texte zum mazd. Kal.*, 77 sq., has a different etymology.

II. A Parthian Amulet (Plate II)

T i a (M 1202). Upper half of a book-leaf, badly preserved; writing slightly faded, here and there obliterated. A Parthian amulet (*zāwar*) whose chief content was a *Manichæan Yakṣa catalogue*. Each hour was ruled by a Yakṣa who occupied a certain country and had so-and-so many thousand sons who ate this or that food. Of the twenty-four sections that must have gone to make up

¹ For Pahl. forms see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, 311; X, 620; Bailey, *Zor.Probl.*, 109, 138.

² Misunderstood and misapplied as “erect” in Persian.

³ Pers. -*a-* from MPers. -*i-* is common and occurs even in monosyllables (*zam* “cold” from *zim-*). Metathesis as in *yarv* “cane” from *grav-*, *surb* “lead” from *srwv-*. Words in -*abz* are rare. *dabz/gabz* “thick” are equally dubious; if *dabz* is correct, it could be from *dbaz* (Duchesne-Guillemin, *BSOS.*, IX, 864) and help to prove the case for *sabz*. *bavz* (*bauz*, with a side-form *baz*) “humble-bee” has original -*bž-*, cf. Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, 45 sq.—*Sabz* occurs as “green” even in Pahlavi books, e.g. *GrBd.*, 140, 7, *spz* (in the next line repeated as *spycz*), *Pahl.Riv.*, 202, 6 *spz* (not “brilliant” as de Menasce, *Anthropos*, xxxvii–xl, 183 sqq.).

⁴ *zgrȳft*, etc., has original *uz-*. ‘*sprhm-*’ is from *spargman-*. Latin *strata* becomes *srat* in Pahlavi, see Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1934, 505; *Zor.Probl.*, 115. *Istraēl* becomes *Sr’yl*, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 54. The only exception, Parth. ‘*strtywt*’ = *σπατιώτης*, is deceptive. It was no doubt pronounced as *astartiyōtā*.

⁵ Cf. Khovar *isprenjik* “to blossom” (with secondary nasalization). Cf. Morgenstierne, *BSOS.*, VIII, 662.

the catalogue originally only five are preserved ; owing to gaps in the MS. only four names each of Yakṣas and countries are available. The countries mentioned are in North-Western India. Our fragment is closely related to a type of Northern Buddhist literature of which the Mahāmāyūrī and the Candragarbha-sūtra are the best known specimens. The Yakṣa catalogue of the Mahāmāyūrī was brilliantly commented on by Sylvain Lévi, *JA.*, 1915, i, 19–138 ; to the same scholar we owe a survey of the Candragarbha-sūtra, *BEFEO.*, v, 1905, 253–305. None of the Buddhist texts, as far as I can see, offers a five-fold series such as we find in the Manichæan fragment, hour : yakṣa : country : number : a food. In the Mahāmāyūrī it is merely yakṣas : countries. In the Candragarbha, ch. xvii (pp. 262–8) it is countries : protectors (incl. yakṣas). In ch. xviii (pp. 268–281), we have nakṣatras : countries, the nakṣatras, arranged in *twenty-five* groups, being parallel to the *twenty-four* hours of the Manichæan text. In ch. xix there is first a list of *twenty-five* *caityas* which is found, with variations, also in the Avataṃsaka-sūtra and the Sūryagarbha-sūtra, where they are put into relation with countries (pp. 281 sq.). It is followed by an enumeration of countries : numbers (of *lieux de Bouddha*), the countries being (on the whole) the same as in ch. xvii (pp. 281–5). Similarly we have in the Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra, ch. xxii (p. 303), a short list of countries with chief Nāgarājas, who are accompanied by thousands of Nāgarājas, e.g. “ *dans le royaume de Tchen-tan [China], le Nāgarāja San-kio avec dix-huit mille Nāgarājas* ”. The Buddhist material thus attests at least a four-fold relation, nakṣatras : yakṣas : countries : numbers.

In employing such seemingly meaningless enumerations as charms or parts of charms, the Manichæans again imitated the Buddhists. Thus the Mahāmāyūrī, the “ Great Peacock formulā ”, is *une des cinq grandes formules que le bouddhisme du Nord groupe sous l'appellation collective de Pañca-rakṣā “ la Quintuple protection ” . . . ne doit son importance qu'à sa valeur magique. Il consiste essentiellement dans une série de formules en abracadabra . . . est donc par excellence une formule de protection contre les serpents.* Its catalogue of yakṣas is merely a minor item within endless lists of divine beings whose aid is invoked to assure the efficacy of its central formula (*J.A.*, 1915, i, 19–22). Unfortunately that part of the text that made the transition from the introductory sentences to the yakṣa-formula is missing in the Manichæan fragment.

The Candragarbha-sūtra was translated into Chinese in A.D. 566, the Sūryagarbha-sūtra in 592 (loc. cit., 261). The first part of the Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra, to which the passage from ch. xxii quoted above belongs, was translated between 414 and 421 (ibid., p. 303). Of the Mahāmāyūrī the oldest Chinese version that included the yakṣa-catalogue is of A.D. 516 ; the first incomplete translation, lacking the catalogue, is from between A.D. 317 and 322 (p. 26) ; the Bower MS., which belongs to the second half of the fourth century, contained parts of the book. S. Lévi assumes that the Mahāmāyūrī catalogue *remonte aux trois ou quatre premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne*. Altogether one can perhaps say that the chief period of interest in this kind of literature was

the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries; it is to that time that one would assign also the Manichæan text.

The Manichæans of Chinese Turkestan did not, as a rule, use the Parthian language as their medium; in the rare cases they did so use it, they betray themselves by lack of idioms, monotony of syntax, poverty of vocabulary, and patent mistakes (for details see Ghilain, *Langue Parthe*, 28–30). As the language of our fragment is intact, its composition must be ascribed to a period when and an area where Parthian was the living language of the Manichæan communities. The area in question is either Parthia itself or the countries bordering immediately on Parthia in the east, where the influence of the Parthian language was strong, and where the Manichæan religion had been spread by Parthian emissaries. We know now that Mani's Apostle of the East, Mār Ammō, went beyond Marv into the former Kušān dominions and reached districts near Balkh, possibly even Balkh itself (see my paper "Waručān-Šāh", *Journal of the Greater India Society*, xi, 85–90¹). This Mār Ammō, who was destined to become the founder of Eastern Manichæism, made Parthian the official language of the Eastern Church. It maintained this status until, in consequence of the spread of Manichæism still further east, it was replaced by Sogdian in Transoxiana probably under Mār Šād-Örmizd (second half of the sixth century); but in the Parthian home provinces as well as Marv and Balkh Parthian no doubt continued to be used. Of the history of the Manichæan church in Marv and Balkh we know little; that it had strong communities for several centuries is beyond doubt. In the second quarter of the seventh century, Hüen-tsang reported that Manichæism was the religion *par excellence* of Persia (*Mém.*, ii, 179, as corrected by Marquart). This means that Manichæism was a very strong religion in those districts of Persia that bordered on Tokharistan; for it was there that Hüen-tsang received his information on Persia.² Even at the beginning of the eighth century a Manichæan archbishop resided in Tokharistan (Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, 176 [152] sq.).

¹ I made the mistake there of making use of the *WLWC'N MLK'*, who is mentioned in the Great Inscription of Shapur I. The later discovered Greek and Parthian versions of that inscription (see below, p. 53), which became accessible to me only in August, 1945, have proved me wrong and shown that the *WLWC'N MLK'* was the king of Iberia (in Parthian *WYRŠN*). It is only fair to say that I had envisaged the possibility that Iberia was meant, but had discarded it because I did not see (and still do not see) how such a spelling, which no doubt underlies the *Warjan* of the Armenian Geography, could be defended, in view of the other forms of the name, Arm. *Wirk'*, Gr. *Ῥκανοί*, and now Parth. *Wyršn* = *Wirčān*. Persian (etc.) *Gurj*/*Gurz* is easily derived from *Waruč*; the difficulty lies in explaining *Waruč*.—Striking out the *WLWC'N MLK'* does not necessarily affect the chief argument of my article. As we have two countries of the name of *Warjan*/*Warčān* in the Armenian Geography, one = Iberia, the other somewhere near Balkh, so should we find two *Waručāns* in the Iranian material. The Manichæan fragments in which *Wrwc'n* occurs are in Parthian: the name of Iberia should there be spelt **wyrč'n*; for *wrwc'n* is known only as the Middle Persian form. On the other hand, one feels some hesitation on account of the name of the king, *Haḇazā* (*Habazā*), which strangely resembles the name of the contemporaneous king of Iberia, *Hamazasp*, and could perhaps be regarded as a hypocoristic form of it.

² That is clear from his mentioning *la ville de Ho-mo* (*Mém.*, ii, 180) as the eastern frontier of Persia. *Ho-mo*, as already Marquart pointed out (*Ērānšahr*, 75), is a mistake for **Mo-ho* (*muāt-yāk*) = *Mary*/*Marv*.

Already the oldest Man. Parthian documents, the poems we can now ascribe to Mār Ammō himself (*BSOAS.*, xi, 216, n. 6), contain several Indian (Buddhist) terms (*mṛn* “death”, *rdnyn* “jewels”, *nṛh* “hell” with *nṛhyg* adj., *krm* “action”, and *zmbudyg* “world”). In the texts written in the fourth century (see Ghilain, loc. cit., 26 sq.) their number increases gradually. Our fragment, showing closer contact with Buddhists and an interest in the Indo-Iranian borderlands, may have been written in the sixth century, probably in or near Balkh.

- (R) (1) pd tw n'm pd t[w] (k)[']m pd t[w] f(r)[m'n '](wd) pd tw z'wr
 (2) (xw)d'y yyšw mšyh[' o p]d n'm mrym'[ny] 'nrywgyzdn
 (3) [f](ryšt)g o 'wd pd n'm cy tw'n (w)'[d ? wjyd](g) ['st'w'dg
 (4) 'frydg k(y) wyg'n(yd) (')w hrwyn dyw'n 'wd z'wr['n t'ry](g)[o] pd n'm
 (5) [m](y)h'yl sr'yl rwf'yl 'wd gbr'yl [
 (6) [. . . .] qftynws¹ 'wd brsymws fryš[t]g[
 (7) [n]'m 'nyl 'wd ddyl² 'bryl nysdyl³ 'w(d) (r)fy[1]
 (8) ['](w) 'šm'h hrwyn dyw'n yxš'n pryg('n [d](r)[wj]'n r(x)[šs'n ?]
 (9) ['](w)zdys'n t'ryg'n 'wd w'd'n bzg'n (o) hrwyn z'dg'n [t'ryg]
 (10) '(wd) ? šb'nyg (t)rs 'wd 'hr's (dr)d 'wd yw(b)[hr]
 (11) ['wd] [z](r)w'n 'c prw'n z'wr 'stft 'wd sx[wn]
 (12) ['c] 'ym mrdwhm ky pdmw(x)[t](g) d'ryd o wryx[syd]
 (13) [. . . .] 'wd 'bn'syd 'spwhyd 'zyh[1-2]yd o (yd)[
 (14) [. . . .] 'w dwr (w)[y'](g)[
 (15) [. . . .]my[
 (V) (16) hz'r (p)w[h]r[n] [']h'r 'xwrynd [oo pn]jwm jm'n 'c
 (17) rwc yxš pd[xš']hyd byš p'r(n) (n)'m o 'w pwš(k)wr⁴ [pr]xyz[yd o]
 (18) 'wš '(s)[t pwhr'n] wys(t) hz'r šw(r)yn 'h'r 'xwrynd [oo]
 (19) šhw[m jm'n 'c] rwc yxš pdxš'hyd qwctr n'm [o]
 (20) ['w] prxyzyd o 'wš 'st pnjwyst hz'[r]
 (21) [pwhr'n .]g.(n) 'h'r 'xwrynd oo hftwm jm'n 'c
 (22) [rwc yxš pd](xš)'hyd nrg'n n'm 'w cynyst''[n]
 (23) [prxyzyd] '[wš] ('s)t pwhr'n hšt'd hz'r mygdyy[n]
 (24) ['h'r] 'xwrynd oo (h)štwm jm'n 'c rwc yx(š)
 (25) [pdxš'hyd] nrg('n ?) n'm 'w qšpyr [prxy]zyd o (')[wš]
 (26) ['st] hz'r pwhr'n 'sprh(m)yn 'h'r ['xwrynd]
 (27) [oo nhwm] jm'n 'c rwc yxš pdxš'hyd [.]
 (28) [.]myl n'm 'w d(jr)tbwhr⁵ (?) p[rxzyd]
 (29) ['wš 'st pwhr'n hz']r šyft[yn 'h'r]
 (30) ['xwrynd oo dswm jm'n 'c rwc yxš] pdxš'hyd]

¹ Or *qptynws*.

² Or *rryl*.

³ Or *nysryl*, possibly even *nysnyl*.

⁴ Or *pwšxwr* ?

⁵ Or *d(š)lbwhr* ? Or *r-* ?

Translation

(R) . . . in your name, by your will, at your command, and through your power, Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of Mar Mani the Saviour, the apostle of the gods, and in the name of your Holy, praised, blessed Spirit, who smites all demons and powers of darkness. In the name of Michael, Səra'el, Raphael, and Gabriel . . . of Qaftinus and Bar-Simus the angel . . . in the name of An-el, Dad-el, Abar-el, Nisad-el, and Raf-el [who will smite] all you demons, yakšas, peris, drujs, rākšasas, idols of darkness, and spirits of evil. All ye sons of darkness and night, fear and terror, pain and sickness, . . . and old age: from before the firm Power and Word . . . away from this man, who wears it: flee ye, . . ., vanish, take fright, pass away until . . . to a far place . . .

(V) . . . [he has] . . . thousand sons; they eat food of . . .

The fifth hour, of the day: a Yakša, *Biš-pārn* by name, rules it. He occupies *Puškavur*. He has twenty thousand sons. They eat food of salt.

The sixth hour, of the day: a Yakša, *Kučatr* (?) by name, rules it. He occupies []. He has twenty-five thousand sons. They eat food of . . .

The seventh hour, of the day: a Yakša, *Naragān* by name, rules it. He occupies *China*. He has eighty thousand sons. They eat food of fruit.

The eighth hour, of the day: a Yakša, *Naragā[n ?]* by name, rules it. He occupies *Kashmir*. He has . . . thousand sons. They eat food of flowers.

The ninth hour, of the day: a Yakša, *māl* by name, rules it. He occupies *Džartabuhr*. He has . . . thousand sons. They eat food of milk.

Notes

(3) Cf. *tw'n* . . . *w'd wjydg*, *Mir.Man.*, iii, 863, 9 (cf. p. 912 n.), where *tw'n* refers to the Father of Light. In our passage it may belong to Jesus (cf. line 1) or to the Father.

(6/7) Qaftinus, etc., see Müller, *HR.*, ii, 45, 48, 55–9. Cf. also M 196 *mrsus nrsus nstyqws y'qub 'wd qptynws s'ryndws u 'hryndws syt 'wd brsymws (šw)b'n'n nyw'n* “the valiant shepherds”, and the hymn published in *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 56.

(8) The Parthian equivalent of Av. *druj-*, Man. MPers. *druxš*, does not seem to occur elsewhere. There is not enough space for [d](r)[wxš]'n.

(8) *rk* or *rx*. There is a hole over the *k/x* where there would have been the point that transforms *k* into *x*; the letter itself is damaged, but nevertheless quite certain. A class of demons whose name begins with *rk* or *rx* is not mentioned anywhere else in Manichæan literature. In view of the pre-occupation with Indian matters that distinguishes our fragment, *rākšasa* would be appropriate. Parthian borrowed *yakša* as *yaxš*,¹ *bhikṣ-* as *bixš-*, *mokṣa* as *mōxš*, and *śikṣāpada* as *čaxšābed*, so *rākšasa* should turn up as **raxšas* (the first vowel would necessarily be shortened in Parthian) or even *raxšaz*,

¹ Apart from Khotanese Saka, it is only in Parthian that Skt. *-kṣ* is rendered by *-xš*; for Sogd. *y'γš* (Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xi, 771) does not exist (see *ibid.*, 719), and Man. Sogd. *cxš'pt* (whence Uigur and Mongol) comes from Parthian.

cf. Saka *rakṣaysa*, but Uigur *r'kš's*, *Uig.*, i, 44¹² (see Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xi, 771 sqq., for further forms).

(9) *uzdēs* “idol” is loanword from Middle Persian (Parth. **zdys*, cf. MPers. *'wzdȳh*: Parth. *'zdyh*).

(10) *'hr's* = Pers. *hirās*, cf. *'hr's'dn*, Ghilain, *Langue Parthe*, 75.

(11) *z'wr* is the key-word to the whole text. Its value cannot be appreciated until one has found the correct reading of *pdmwxtg* in the next line; it eluded me for a long time. The demons are to flee “from before” the “firm” *zāwar* = power, away from *this* man who wears it, viz. the *zāwar*. The *zāwar* thus is the amulet itself, and *sx[wn]* “word” is the text of the amulet. This reminds one of the use of *δύναμις* as “magically potent substance or object”, see Liddell-Scott-Jones-McKenzie s.v., ii 5, and cf. A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithras-liturgie*, 46, n. 1.

(13) *'bn's-* is transitive elsewhere, see Ghilain, loc. cit., 69. *'spwh-*, not otherwise noticed, belongs to *'sp'w*, *BSOS.*, IX, 81.¹ The transitive verb, *'sp'w-* “to frighten”, also occurs. The *-h-* in *'spwh-* is unetymological, cf. *wnwhg* from *wnw-*, Ghilain, loc. cit., 67. The gap in *'zyh[.]* *[yd]* may be deceptive; the paper is broken and may not have been put together properly. The derivation given for *yd* “until” in *BSOS.*, IX, 89, is unsatisfactory. One should pose **yātā* and compare OPers. *yātā*, which Salemann (*GrIrPhil.*, i, 1, 318) justly connected with Pers. *tā*. The syntactical value of *yātā* is precisely that of *tā*. That Pers. *tā* has lost its initial syllable is shown by Man. MPers. *dā*, from which it cannot be separated in any case. The Pahlavi form was *tā*, not **tāk*; the occasional confusion with the word for “piece” occurred after *tāk* “piece” had become *tā*; to those who persist in writing *tāk* we recommend *kak* for *ka* “when”, *mak* for *ma* “(that) not”, etc. (*Frah. Pahl.*, xxv, 2, 7). The Pazendists knew *dā* beside *tā*, see *Frah. Pahl.*, xxv, n. 14; this may account for the second half of Paz. *andā*.

(17) *byš p'rn* = *Bš-pārñ* must be *Viśvapāñi*, who leads a shadowy existence in Northern Buddhism as the fifth of the “Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas”; he is due to create the next world, the world of Maitreya. As his colleague *Vajrapāñi* appears frequently as a *yakṣa*, cf. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, viii, 311–17, there is no reason why *Viśvapāñi* should not play such a homely role too. In the Candragarbha-sūtra the yakṣa of Puruṣapura is Mañipuṣpa, that of Gāndhāra is Siṃhaloma (?). Puruṣapura is not mentioned in the Mahāmāyūrī catalogue, where Gāndhāra occurs twice, in 32 (yakṣa is Pramardana), and in 72, where the yakṣa's name seems to be *Vaikṛtika*; it has been connected with Av. *Vaēkərəta* by S. Lévi, *J.A.*, 1925, i, 67–9; cf. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, X, 917, n. 1. The discovery that *Vaēkərəta* is Gāndhāra (which I take for proved) is of the greatest importance for the list of countries in Vendidad, ch. 1. It encourages me to propose a new explanation for *Varəna*, which in the Vendidad precedes *hapta həndu*: should it not be = Skt. *Varṇu*, the *Ἄορνος* of Alexander, the

¹ Parth. *'skd* ibid. is evidently “thorns” = Sogd. *'skt* “thorns” *SCE.*, 48, also Man. *skt'* (1060 V4). This meaning fits Av. *skaiti* better than any other.

modern Buner ? See Sylvain Lévi, *J.A.*, 1915, i, 71–3. In the Mahāmāyūri catalogue *Varṇu* (30) stands shortly before *Gāndhāra*. The usual identification of *Varṇa* with *Gēlān* (cf. Christensen, *Premier Chapitre du Vendidad*, 1943, 49 sqq.) is ill-founded ; for the Pahlavi version has no authority whatsoever in matters of historical geography, and the derivation of *Gēl* from *varṇya-* is weak (1. *-army-* > **-ēl-* against Pers. *zarr*, etc., 2. **gē-* < *vē-* hardly anywhere in the West, 3. and all this by the time of Pompey, see Strabo, xi, 5, 1, p. 503).

(17) *pwškw*. At first sight one would perhaps read *pwšxw* ; but what seems to be a *-x-* point, proves on closer inspection to be merely a smudge ; it stands a little lower than the *-x-* point should. The form *pwškw* is thus as good as assured. *Puškw*, which may represent *Puškawur* or *Pošk-*, is almost certainly an old form of the name of Peshawar (Puruṣapura). I asked Dr. L. D. Barnett how one could best explain the relation of pseudo-Sanskrit Puruṣapura to *Puškawur* or *Poškawur* (and *Poškaβur*, see below). He very obligingly suggested that the original form of the name was Skt. **Puṣya(ka)-pura*, whence in local Prakrit arose **Puṣṣa(ka)-p.* or **Pōṣṣa(ka)-p.* (for sporadic change of *ū* to *ō* see Pischel, § 125) ; presence or absence of suffixed *-ka-* creates as little difficulty in Indian as in Iranian ; **Puṣyaka-* is perhaps an abbreviation of a compound name such as *Puṣya-mitra* or *Puṣya-datta*, and the name *Pusaka* occurs twice in the lists of donors at Sanchi (*E.I.*, vol. ii, pp. 104, 387). In popular etymology **poṣṣa-* was confused with **poṣṣa—*poṣsa—pōsa* derived from Skt. *puruṣa* or Pkt. *purisa* through intermediary *purṣa* or *pursa*, and hence arose the form *Puruṣapura*. To this I should like to add that the Iranians were bound to change foreign **Poṣṣakapura* to **Poškapur*, which would later become *Poškaβur* and finally *Poškawur* ; it is necessary to assume an older form **Poškapur* in order to account for the presence of an original *-k-* beside *β/w* from *-p-*. We can now discuss the only other occurrence of a form of the name with interior *-k-*. In the Parthian and Greek versions, discovered shortly before the war, of the inscription of Šapur I at the Ka'ba-i Zardušt (A.D. 262, see *BSOS.*, IX, 845), the easternmost limit of the Sasanian state and at the same time the “ Kuṣān country ” (*kwšn ḥštr* ; i.e. that part of the former Kuṣān state which the first Sasanians had conquered) is described as *Pškbwr* = (ἐμπροσθεν) Πασκιβούρων.¹ The passage runs like this, “ and all the upper countries : Kermān, Sakastān, Tuγrān and Makurān, Pāratān ² and Hindastān (*hndstn*, Gr. *Ἰνδία* ; = Sind), and the Kuṣān country up to *Pškbwr* ”. The Parthian version of the inscription is now accessible in a good photograph, published at the end of M. Sprengling, *Shahpuhr I the Great. On the Kaabah of Zoroaster* = *AJSL.*, lvii [1940], 4, 341–420. The Greek text is dispersed in little bits and pieces (which are interlaced with odd remarks on anything, from the shape of letters to the political situation) over the eighty pages of

¹ The other terms used to define the eastern limits will be discussed at the end of this note.

² I.e. Παπαδηνή in Gedrosia. Sprengling (353) wrongly attributes to Marquart the view that the corresponding name in the Paikuli inscription should be localized in Surat. On Skt. *Pārata* see S. Lévi, *J.A.*, 1915, i, 103 sq., on Mahāmāyūri, 95, where *Pāratāh* stands beside Sakasthāna, Pahlava, and Kāpiśi.

Sprengling's article. It is supplemented by two articles by A. T. Olmstead in *Classical Philology*, xxxvii [1942], 3, 241–262; 4, 398–420. Sprengling's editing technique excites no admiration, and his earlier exploits into the field of epigraphy inspire no confidence; cf. also M. N. Tod's critical remarks in *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxiii, 1943, 84 sq., and see M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Res Gestae Divi Saporis and Dura, Berytus*, viii, 1943, 17–60. Confirmation must be awaited for the Greek spelling of the name which Sprengling (pp. 354 sq.) correctly referred to Peshawar; Parthian *pškbwr* is certain. It may be of interest here to mention briefly the parallel sentence in which the north-western limits of the Sasanian empire are defined: "Atropatene ([t]ruptkn), Armenia, Iberia (wyršn), Sisakan (Siunik'; spelt *sykn*),¹ Albania ('rr'n ?), Balāsakān (bl'skn), up to Mount Caucasus and the Gate of the Alans."² The last words are read *kpy kruwny* [or: *grwny*] *w 'l'nNTRkny* by Sprengling. The photograph, however, shows clearly enough: *kpy TWR' w 'l'nn TR'* (= *Kāf kōf ud Alānān bar*); even a non-Semitist can recognize the Aramaic words *tūrā* "mountain"³ and *tar'ā* "gate". We note that Sprengling has also not succeeded in restoring the appropriate word for "gate" in the Greek text, which is of course *πύλαι*; he has tried hard to find it and proposes "*Alanōn* [*parakh* or *paakh* or *phouriou* or *pyrgou* or *kleisouras*]"⁴. To return now to the *Pškbwr* passage, after "and the Kušān country up to Peshawar" the Greek text has, according to Sprengling (p. 355), *kai (h)eōs Kas Sōdikēnēs kai Tsatsēnēs orōn*, the Parthian being *W HN 'L k's swgd W š's*; the first *š* is not clear in the photograph; Sprengling gives *š'ss(tn)* and restores the word for "mountain"; whether *-stn* should be read or not I cannot say; it cannot be seen in the photograph, and in any case its presence or absence is immaterial for the meaning of the passage. Sprengling has recognized Sogdiana and Čāč; for *Kāš* he proposes with a fine display of judgment first *Cutch*, then *Kashmir*, then *Kišš*, deciding himself in favour of the last. He takes it for granted that the last Greek word was *ὄρων*. With this I cannot agree. We should read *καὶ ἕως Kās Σωδικηνῆς καὶ Τσατσηνῆς ὄρων* = Parthian *ud yad ō Kāš Suyd ud Čāč* (\pm *astān*) [*wimand*]. The boundary of *Kāš* was the famous *λίθινος πύργος*, whence the traveller reached *ἡ Κασία χώρα*, Chin. *K'ia-ša*, Sogdian *Kāš* (*BSOS*, IX, 567; *Sogdica*, 8, 10), later *Kāšyar*; for the western frontier of Kashghar at the time of Shapur see Markwart, *Wehrot*, 68. The boundary of Sogdiana was the Iron Gate. Shapur thus claims to have held at least a part of Transoxiana, in particular the important first stretch of the Silk Route, from Balkh to the Stone Tower. The definition of his eastern possessions, therefore, ends with the words "... Pāratān and Hindastān, and the Kušān country up to Peshawar and up to the limits of Kashghar, Sogdiana, and Tashkend".

¹ Not understood by Sprengling. Same list as in the Armenian Geography, provinces of *K'usti-Kapkoh*, 1–6 (where Sisakan follows Balāsakan).

² A new sub-sentence begins with *w hmk*... Not understood by Sprengling.

³ It occurs several times in the inscription. Sprengling misreads it throughout.

⁴ Sprengling's transliteration.

(18) *šwryn* “salt(y)” (not noticed elsewhere). There are forms with *š*- and *s*-, Persian *šōr*(-), but Bakhtiari *sūr* (Lorimer, p. 69), Gabri of Yezd *sūr* (Lorimer, *JRAS.*, 1916, 437), Baluchi *sōr*, Brahui *sōr*, and last but not least Pahlavi *sōr*. The word is unknown to Old Iranian and seems to be restricted (loanwords from Persian excepted) to the area of Persia and Baluchistan. Could it belong to a substrate language and be connected with Dravidian **suvar* (Gondi *sawwōr*, GondiM. *hovar* “salt”, Tamil, Malayalam *uvar* “salt-ness”, quoted by T. Burrow, *BSOAS.*, XI, 352) ? For the mineral salt Parthian has the common Iranian *na/imaδka* (*Sogdica*, 8, and *Add.*; *na/imaθka* cannot be maintained); as *nmydk* it occurs in M 377 R 5. In addition, there is a strange word for “salty” in Parthian, *wl* = *wal* ? The Manichæans had, as of everything else, so also a series of (five) tastes, see Polotsky, Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.*, vi, 250¹². A full set does not seem to occur in the Iranian material, but there are three fragmentary series, one in Middle Persian (T i M 100, 121 sqq.) and two in Parthian (M 183 and M 840), viz. :—

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| MidPers. | — | — | [<i>dj</i>] <i>n</i> | <i>šyptg</i> | <i>thr</i> |
| Parth. 183 | [<i>w</i>] <i>l</i> | <i>tryfš</i> | — | — | <i>txl</i> |
| Parth. 840 | <i>wl</i> | <i>tryfš</i> | <i>djn</i> | <i>šy[ftg]</i> | — |
| <i>Keph.</i> 33 | <i>salzig</i> | <i>sauer</i> | <i>scharf</i> | <i>süß</i> | <i>bitter</i> |
| | | | (<i>brenzlich</i>) | | |

(19–22) *qwctr* (= *Kucchattra* ?) is not known to me. *Nrg'n* = *Naragān*, which recurs in line 25, is also not clear; *Naravāhana* (Kubera), who is mentioned in the Candragarbha (p. 264 under No. 9), is not close enough. It is not altogether impossible that *Naragān* is an inverse spelling of **Narayān*, which could be regarded as a popular or local form of *Nārāyaṇa*¹ (in Sogdian *n'r'y'n*, *VJ.* and *P* 8; Saka spellings *apud* Bailey, *BSOAS.*, X, 909, 914): he, too, is found in the Candragarbha (p. 265 under No. 17). The Middle Ir. ending *-agān* (earlier *-akān*) became *-ayān* and finally *-iyān*, which then was liable to confusion with *-iyān* from *-īgān*/*-īkān*, cf. the case of *parnagān*/*parniyān* (Pahl. “*parnikān*”), *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 153. In the region of Tokharistan *-īgān*/*-īkān* had become *-iyān* by the middle of the fifth century, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 215, and this may be true also of *-agān*. We cannot tell whether names such as *Čayāniyān* represent *Čayān-agān* or *Čayān-īgān* (cf. Marquart, loc. cit., 226, n. 1). Some words have both *-agān* and *-īgān* originally, e.g. *sāsānagān* in Parthian, *sāsānīgān* in MPers.

(22–25) *cynyst'n* = *Čēnistān* (or *Čīn*-) = China, *qšpyr* = *Kašpīr* = Kāśmīr. *Kašpīr* reflects a Prakrit form with *-šp*² and must not be confused with the Iranian and Central Asian form with *-sp*- and apparently a brief *-i*- (*Κασπειρία*,

¹ This suggestion is supported by the Avataṃsaka-sūtra and Sūryagarbha-sūtra, where “*la Grotte de Na-lo-yen* [i.e. *Nārāyaṇa*] *est le lieu saint de la Chine*” (*BEFEO.* v 282, 6). For details see *BEFEO.*, ii, 248; iv, 547.

² *-p* as in *lyšp*, etc., cf. *Sogdica*, 58 and *Add.*

Κασπεραιῶι Ptolemy; Chin. *Chi-pin* = **Ka(s)pir*; Khotanese Saka *Kaspār-*, *E* xxiv, 5, cf. Konow, *NTS.*, xi, 30; Tib. *Kaspar*, Thomas, *Tib. Texts and Doc.*, i, 193). The form with *-śm-* occurs in Iranian only in comparatively late times, e.g. in Pahlavi (*Gr.Bd.*, 197², 199¹) and Persian (Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 254). The proximity of China to Kashmir in our text would by itself be sufficient proof for its dependence upon an Indian prototype. Originally no doubt the Indian *Cīna* was meant, cf. Mahāmāyūrī cat. 80 and S. Lévi's remarks, pp. 101, 120. This may also be the explanation of the series *Bru-śa*—Kashmir—*Rgya* (i.e. China)—*Nagarāhāra* in a Tibetan text, F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., 261. One and the same yakṣa, it seems, looks after *Āṇiṣṭān* and *Kaśpīr* according to our fragment; in the Mahāmāyūrī Pāñcika dwells in the confines of Kashmir, his eldest son in the lands of *Cīna* (understood as *China* by the translators):—

- 77 *Prabhaṃkaraśca Kāśmīre Caṇḍakaśca Jātāpura*
 78 *Pāñcika iti nāmnā tu vasate Kāśmīrasaṃdhiṣu*
 79 *pañca putrasatā yasya mahāsainiṃ mahābalāḥ*
 80 *jyeṣṭhāputraḥ Pāñcikasya vasate Cīnabhūmiṣu*

The same Pāñcika, who, as Sylvain Lévi pointed out, is mentioned in a Pali story of the conversion of Kashmir, appears as the yakṣa of China in the Candragarbha-sūtra (p. 268, No. 55).

(23) *mygdyyyn* “consisting of fruit”. In M 93, 14b, *mygdg* “fruit” occurs. Sogdian *myδ'kw* (etc.) = *mayδe* “fruit” and MPers. *myw* (*Mir.Man.*, i), Pers. *mēve* “fruit” (for which Morgenstierne proposed a different origin, *Acta Orientalia*, i, 272) belong here; MPers. *mēw* < **mēy* from **maδg* (*miδg* ?) with metathesis. The Parthian, Sogdian, and Persian words, in conjunction, prove Old Iranian **migda-* (and **migdaka-*) “fruit”; all of them are collective nouns. This Old Iranian *migda-* “fruit” cannot well be separated from the Aramaic and Hebrew *migdā* (etc.) “fruit”, words which are often mis-translated because of etymological considerations ($\sqrt{m\bar{g}d}$ in Arabic and Palmyrene).¹ Syriac *maydā* means nothing but “fruit”, and so does Talm. *mygd'* (*mgd'*), for which Levy, iii, 12, gives *Kostbarkeit, köstliche Frucht*, while the passage he quotes has *b-'sprmgy w-mgdy*, evidently “with flowers (MPers. *isparhmag*) and fruit”. Biblical Hebrew *māgād*, in *Deut.*, 33¹³ sqq., and unquestionably in *Cant.*, 4¹³, 16, 7¹⁴, means “fruit”, both literally and metaphorically (“fruit of heaven”, etc.); Brown-Driver-Briggs say “*excellence*: excellent or choice things; always of gifts of nature . . .”.

(25) *prxyz-*, here translated as “occupy”, could also be “protect”, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 62, n. 2, where the connection with Av. *haēz-* (Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 33) was pointed out.

(28) *djrtbwhr* or *dštbbw* ? -š- and -jd- (-jr-) can be distinguished only with

¹ It is beyond my province to express an opinion on Hebr. *migdānōth* (from $\sqrt{m\bar{g}d}$ or *migdā* ?). The ultimate provenance of the word for “fruit” (Semitic ? Iranian ? or a third group ?) is not clear to me.

difficulty wherever the writing is slightly faded; here the chances are equal. A point over *d*- (changing it to *r*-) may have disappeared. Much depends here on the proper reading. It seems possible that the town (or district) meant here was the *Jaṭāpura* of the Mahāmāyūrī catalogue 77 (see above note on 22-5), which there stands between Kāśmīra and Cīna. As, however, a town of that name is known to no other source, its presence would prove a very close relation between the Manichæan fragment and the Mahāmāyūrī. It is somewhat unfortunate that the reading of the name in the Mahāmāyūrī is not quite certain; the Chinese versions have *Jaṭāsura* (name of a people mentioned by Varāhamihira) and *Kaṭāpura*, but these two forms add up to *Jaṭāpura*, which the Skt. MSS. have in unanimity. S. Lévi (p. 101) thinks that *Jaṭāpura* could be the "town of the Jats" (*Jāt*, the *Zutt* of the Muslims), whose name Candragomin may have given as *Jarta* (*BEFEO.*, iii, 51). Beruni glosses Sindhu-Sauvīra by "Multān and جہراور *Jahrāwar* (?)" (*India*, 152⁶, 166¹⁶ = transl., i, 300, 302; cf. 130⁵ = i, 260), see Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans*, 51 sq., but Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 259, has made it likely that "*jahrāwar*" is the same as جندراور, according to Marquart, *Čandrāwar*. If Minorsky is right in deriving the name of the Persian *Zutt*, *Lōrī*, from that of *Rōr* (*Arōr*), *J.A.*, 1931, i, 281 sqq., the old capital of the Sauvīras, *Rauruka* (*Lohva*), see Lüders, loc. cit., may lay some claim to the designation of *Jaṭāpura*; the name of the yakṣa of Rauruka, Prabhaṃkara, recurs in the line in which *Jaṭāpura* is mentioned, though not as the name of the genius of *Jaṭāpura*. Evidently it is impossible, with our present means, to determine the position of this town. The Parthian spelling *djrtbwhr* (or *dštbwhr*) is easily explained. It must be remembered that the letter we transliterate as *j* has, in Parthian, the value of *ž* at the beginning of a word (in MPers. it is *ǰ*). If a foreign *ǰ*- was to be reproduced accurately, a combination of two letters had to be used, either *dš*- or preferably *dj*- (= *dž*-). One can compare Parthian *tšy*, *tšy*, a fairly frequent variant of *cy* = *čē*, Avestan *tč* *δč* *dšj* (Bartholomæ, *GrIrPhil.*, i, 1, 158), and Mandæan *tš* (Nöldeke, *Mand.Gram.*, p. 2 n.). Unetymological *h* in the group vowel + *r* has been noticed before, see *JRAS.*, 1942, 239 sq., on Pers. *sipihr* and Parth. *zyncyhr*, to which ManMPers. *nhecyhr*¹ should perhaps be joined; in the case of *-bwhr* the numerous Parthian names in *-buhr* "son" (early pronounced as *-būr*) added to the temptation. Thus *dštbwhr* could be *Jatabūr*, while *djrtbwhr* = *Jartabūr* would remind one of Candragomin's *Jarta*; however, it is common knowledge that the Indian linguists were often represented by *r* + dentals (cf. also *byš p'rn* in our fragment), and so we should regard *djrtbwhr* merely as an accurate rendering of *Jaṭāpura*.

¹ The etymology recently proposed for this word by H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xi, 774, n. 1, would require *-hr* in the MPers. form. The absence of *-h*- from all other spellings, even that in the inscription of Shapur, is against **naxti-čithra*-. One would also hesitate to regard Sogdian *nyš'yr* as a loanword (the regular Sogdian form should end in *-iš*).

Excursus

The Parthian ending *-ēndē(h)*.

In an article "Contribution a l'histoire de la flexion verbale en iranien" (*Le Monde Oriental*, xxxi, 1937 [publ. 1944], 63–86) Professor H. S. Nyberg has returned to a problem to which he had devoted several pages in the introduction to his *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (i, 13–19; 1928): the problem of the two mysterious verb-endings (x^1 resembling *BYN*; x^2 resembling *Av. q*) that can be added to ideograms in Pahlavi. Professor Nyberg has considerably modified his earlier views, which had come in for a good deal of criticism; but he still maintains his analysis of both x^1 and x^2 as 𐭥𐭩 (with which I had—ill-advisedly¹—concurred). He has abandoned his interpretation of the value of x^1 as *-ēndēh* and admits that the arguments put forward against the importation into *Pahlavi* of an optative ending that can justly be described as a distinctive feature of the *Parthian* language are not without some force; but he declares that, as most Pahlavi books had been written in Northern Persia, in *Ray* and *Azerbaijan* (p. 83),² the Parthian *-ēndēh* might have intruded into Pahlavi occasionally, and he claims to be able to prove that it did so intrude into a page of the *Dinkerd*. As there is little profit in arguing for or against a thesis that a word, form, or ending might or might not have been borrowed by one language from another, I will confine myself to an examination of the single *Dinkerd* passage that in Nyberg's opinion is sufficient to prove his case.

The passage, from the beginning of the seventh book (*DkM.*, 593, 11 sqq.), is about the First Man and Woman. God sends a minor divinity to them to give them some instructions. The messenger does as he is told. His performance is described in the same terms as the order itself, except for the forms of the verbs, which are (according to Nyberg) third persons singular optative in the order, but past participles in the description of its execution. Thus we have two sets of forms, viz. :—

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 3rd sg. opt. | <i>SGYTWN-DŠ</i> | <i>zhkDŠ</i> | <i>āfrīnēnDŠ</i> |
| p.p.p. | <i>SGYTWN-t (= raft)</i> | <i>zast</i> | <i>āfrīnēnūt</i> |
| = | <i>se rendre</i> | <i>faire naître</i> | <i>donner la bénédiction</i> |

The group of letters that looks like *DŠ*³ is to be analysed as **dyh = *dēh*. All the three optatives, which are to prove the existence of the ending *-ēndēh* in Pahlavi, have to submit to some measure of emendation. *āfrīnēndēh est une haplogogie assez naturelle (ou simple haplographie ?) de āfrīnēnēndēh* (p. 85), the verbal stem being *āfrīnēn-*; it may be censorious to point out that the

¹ For the arguments against his analysis are overwhelmingly strong. No such ending (𐭥𐭩) is known in any type of the more ancient Pahlavi material (inscriptions, Dura-Europos, coins, papyri, psalter), a large part of which antedates our oldest Pahlavi manuscripts by as much as a millennium. Indeed, the letter 𐭥 had fallen into disuse (except in the fossilized ideograms, i.e. word pictures) even before the third century. The *schriftgeschichtliche Analyse* seems to operate *in vacuo*.

² In my view they were written in Southern Persia, in Fars and Kerman.

³ I am using capital letters here where I want to indicate the shape of the Pahlavi signs without expressing an opinion on their value, but small letters for their value. Thus, *DŠ* can

element *-ēn-* of *-ēndēh-* is thus not attested here. In the *combinaison absurde* *zhkDš*, *-k-* est une faute pour *-yn-*, et *-dš* pour *-dyh*; nous obtenons *zhyndyh* = *zahēndēh*, which together with its past *zast* should belong to Pers. *zihīdan* *produire*, but is translated *faire naître* as if it were a causative verb; would it be carping to stress that the syllable *-ēn-* is here, too, not in the text? The third form, **SGYTWN-dēh*, should, by all rules of Pahlavi grammar, represent **raudēh*; for *SGYTWN* stands for *raw-* (before vowels) or *rau(-)* (in pause and presumably ¹ before consonants). But in view of the other forms Nyberg commands us to read *rawēndēh* instead. It will be clear already now that the passage is incapable of proving *-ēndēh* for Pahlavi, simply because this ending does not occur in it; but Nyberg concludes *on ne peut donc nier que les formes en -ēndēh ne se trouvent dans les textes rédigés dans la langue officielle du sud-ouest, etc.* (p. 86).

The important parts of the Dinkerd text are transcribed by Nyberg in this way: *ēn-ič hač vēh-dēn paitāk kū-š guft Ōhrmazd ō kas pat ahrādih apar-aržānīk, ēvak hač yazdān, kū: kas i pat ahrādih apar-aržānīk apar rawēndēh ō Masyē u Masyānē* ² *u zahēndēh hān i avē yōrtāk nān hač Masyē u Masyānē; hān avēšān āfrīnēndēh kū . . . srāyišn ahuvar 2 pat apāč-ēstišnīh dēv u druž.* He translates: *ce qui signifie ceci: il est manifeste de par la bonne religion qu'Ōhrmazd dit à un tel qui était d'une noblesse supérieure en justice, à savoir un des dieux: "Un tel qui est d'une noblesse supérieure en justice se rendra chez Masyē et chez Masyānē; il fera naître de Masyē et de Masyānē le pain fait de blé; il leur donnera la bénédiction en disant . . .* [we omit his words which are repeated ³ in the execution of the order] *lire deux ahuvar afin de repousser les démons mâles et femelles. In the repetition there is a brief additional sentence: u raft kas etc. api-š zast etc. api-šān dāt api-š avēšān āfrīnēnūt kū etc. api-š srūt ahuvar 2 etc. = et un tel . . . se rendit . . . il fit naître . . . et il le leur donna; il leur donna la bénédiction en disant . . . et il lit deux ahuvar . . .* With regard to Ōhrmazd's messenger we learn that *l'être divin est appelé "un tel", kas, et évidemment Ōhrmazd s'adresse à lui à la 3^{me} p.* (p. 84).

The assurance with which Professor Nyberg presents his theories should not blind us to the fact that his reading and interpretation are equally wrong in all important points. Even the first words are incorrectly translated; they mean "what follows, too, is an Avestan text". That indeed the passage is the Pahlavi version of a lost Avestan text, is manifest from its peculiar syntax and style and has to be kept before our eyes if we want to understand it properly.

The next point which attracts the reader's attention is the peculiar way of

stand for *dš*, *gš*, *yš*, in my view also for *dd'*, *dy'*, etc. The drawback is that those who are not acquainted with the peculiarities of the Pahlavi script will be prevented from following the discussion. It is outweighed by the precision secured by this mode of writing; the printed Pahlavi type is inadequate for our purposes.

¹ The case does not occur.

² Recte: *Maši ud Mašāni*.

³ In this case there should be no change at all in the wording; but there is *rasēt* against *rasāt*. One of them must be wrong. Nyberg judges differently, p. 86.

referring to God's messenger as "somebody".¹ Any divinity, lesser or least, should be entitled to the courtesy of a name. It is hard to imagine an expression of this type "God said to somebody 'somebody shall go', etc.", especially when it is meant to convey "God said to . . . 'you shall go', etc." However, we need only glance at comparable Avesta passages to understand the construction here, e.g. Vd. ii, 22, *āaṣ aoxta ahurō mazdā yimāi: yima srīra*, etc. = Pahl. tr. *u-š guft Ōhrmazd ō Yim ku Yim [i] nēvak* = and Ohrmazd said to Yima "oh Yima, beautiful one, etc." The name of the addressed person occurs twice, first as dative (Pahl. *ō* . . .), then as vocative, and so it is in our Dinkerd passage too. Verbal forms that occur in *oratio directa* and convey a command to the addressed, may confidently be expected to be 2nd persons, singular or plural, as the case may be. It is true, custom may sometimes admit the use of the 3rd person instead. Thus, in eighteenth century German one could (and did) say to an underling "*Scher' Er sich zum Teufel*"; but to the speakers of either Avestan or Pahlavi such a convention was unknown, and in any case Ahura Mazdāh would never have talked to anyone in so markedly impolite a fashion. So the verbal forms of the Dinkerd text are 2nd persons singular of the optative, or, as the existence in Pahlavi of a special form for the 2nd sing. opt. is doubtful, of the indicative with the sense of the optative, or of the imperative.

Who then was Ohrmazd's messenger? His name is spelt *HDŠ*, which Nyberg, interpreting it as 'yš, regards as the ideogram for *kas* "somebody". The correct reading is *hdš* = *Hadiš*, who is a minor divinity entrusted with the care of the homestead.² He is rarely mentioned in the Zoroastrian scriptures, so rarely indeed that in the Dinkerd passage a glossator found it advisable to warn the reader against the misreading *kas* by adding *ēvag az yazdān* "one of the divinities"; but his name should be familiar to all students of the Zoroastrian religion since the time when J. Darmesteter, in a brilliant little paper, introduced him to the learned world (*Études Iraniennes*, ii, 1883, pp. 201-3). Spelt as in the Dinkerd, *hdš* is found e.g. in the Pahl. version of *Vispered*, 9, 5 (= Sp., 10²⁴), but *hdyš* also occurs (*Visp.*, 1, 9 = Sp., 1, 31).

The epithet of Hadiš, *pad ahrāyīh abar arzānīg*, represents a single Avestan word, but this does not occur in our Avesta. One should attempt its reconstitution. *arzānīg* mostly translates Av. *nas* and *han*, rarely also other words, e.g. *bərəxḍa*: *abar arzānīk* is found for Av. *pairiš.hanāna*. The closest parallel is perhaps *pad ahrāyīh frāz āfrīd* = Av. *ašava.fraθwaršta-* Y., 71, 6 (= Sp. 70, 22). One might be tempted to suggest **ašava.pairiš.hanhanana* "who has been granted (the reward) by the Holy One", but it cannot be denied that in view of the variability of the Pahlavi versions there are several other possibilities, e.g. **ašō.upa.bərəxḍa* "esteemed by *Rta*" (cf. *pad ahrāyīh sardār*

¹ That, rather than "*un tel*", is the meaning of *kas*.

² This could have been found out easily enough by referring to West's translation (*SBE.*, 47, p. 7) or to Christensen, *Premier Homme*, i, 28 sq. One wonders why the work of earlier scholars should be so pointedly overlooked.

= Av. *aša.sar*). In any case Nyberg's translation *qui était d'une noblesse supérieure en justice* is inadequate. We can now reconstitute the beginning of the original Avestan text (with due reserve as regards the epithet): *āaṭ aoxta ahurō mazdā hadiše ašava.pairiṣ.hanhananāi: hadiṣ ašava.pairiṣ.-hanhanana. . .*

Hadiṣ went to pay his visit to Adam and Eve and became involved in one ¹ of those delightful bits of folklore that European scholars, from time to time, contribute to the treasures of Oriental thought: *il fit naître de Masyē et de Masyānē le pain fait de blé et il le leur donna*. The Zoroastrian books, it is true, tell us of the origin of plants (including species of grain) from the gigantic corpse of the Primordial Bull who died seventy years before Adam and Eve appeared in the world, cf. the Pahl. texts discussed by B. Geiger, *BSOS.*, VIII, 551 sqq.²; but that Adam and Eve bring forth finished loaves, with Hadiṣ apparently acting as midwife, is a novel feature. One is sorry to have to demolish this charming story. The Pahlavi verb *zastan*, common in the Pahl. versions of the Avesta, means not "faire naître" but "to ask"; it renders Av. *jad-* "to ask" to which it belongs by etymology, cf. further Man.MPers. *zast-*, *ZII.*, ix, 188. Its present is spelt in various ways, *z-* (instead of *zd-* = *zay-* before *-y-*) in *zyt*, *Vd.*, 3¹ (Sp., 19 *papu.*) = *ḡaiḡyq*, *FOim*, xv = *ḡaiḡyaṭ* [but both probably wrong for *zst*], or *zd-* = *zay-* in *zdynd*, *Vd.*, 19²⁹ (Sp., 217¹⁴) = *-ḡaiḡyenti*, or *zdy-* in *ZHYM* = *zdyym* 1st sing. *Y.*, 9¹⁹, etc. (Sp., p. 74¹⁷, 19, 20, 21, 75¹, 3, etc.) = *ḡaiḡyemi*, as 1st pl. *Y.*, 68²¹ (Sp., p. 234¹⁵) = *ḡaiḡyamnā*, and in *ZHYH* = *zdyyh* 2nd sing. *Y.*, 11² (Sp., p. 84⁸) = *ḡaiḡyehi*, or finally as *z'd-* in *z'dšnyh* *Y.*, 65¹⁰ (Sp., p. 227¹⁵) = *-ḡastīm*, *ZHHM* = *z'dym* as 1st sing. *Y.*, 65¹¹ (Sp., p. 227²⁰, 23) = *ḡaiḡyāmi*, as 1st pl. *Višt. Yt.* 8 (p. 188⁵) = *ḡaiḡyata*, indirectly in *zāyēt* spelt *YLYDWN-yt* *Y.*, 9²³ (see *Air.Wb.* s.v. *gad* n. 5), and last not least *Z'SYH* *Y.*, 65¹⁰, in Spiegel's print, *Z'DDŠ* in *K*, fol. 293v. u. = *ḡaiḡyōiš*. The last mentioned form, which in the Yasna renders the 2nd sing. opt., is identical with the form in our Dinkerd passage, the sole difference being this that in the Dinkerd stem and ending are written as if they were two separate words, whereby *z'd-*, standing virtually *in pausa*, has automatically assumed the disguise of *Z'K*; that final *d/g/y* frequently look like *-k*, is, one trusts, known to students of Pahlavi palæography (cf. e.g. *BSOAS.*, XI, 732). It is appropriate to mention here that over thirty years ago Bartholomae discussed the verbal forms in this Dinkerd text and correctly read *žāyēh*, which he translated *rogas*; needless to say, he understood all

¹ Another we owe to J. Stephenson, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulūb*, p. 44, "the spider . . . they prepare a net as a snare for flies, which form their food. The male spins the thread and becomes a female [my italics]." The Persian text has "the male spins the warp and the female the woof (*pūd*)".

² Forms derived from MPers. *vēnōk* occur in modern Iranian not only in Nāyini (as Geiger says, *ibid.*, p. 552). Cf. Tajiki *bunī* "lentil" (Mann, i, 53); Bakht. *gindī* "lentil" (*ibid.*, ii, 186); *Codex Cumanicus*, 110, 8, *bunu* = "Latin" *erbegia* (i.e. *ervilia*) = Turkish *brizac* (i.e. *بورجاق*). Differently Grønbech, *Koman. Wb.*, 72 s.v. *byrēaq*; *erbegia* is hardly = Ital. *erbaggio*, but rather = Ital. *rubiglia*, Span. *arveja*, etc. [Persian dictionaries have compounds with *bunū*: *bunū-surx*, *bunū-siyāh*, *bunū-māš*, *bunū-nazle*, for various species of lentils and peas.]

the other forms properly too (*WZKM.*, xxix, 17). Nyberg does not mention Bartholomæ's article, which he quoted in his *Hilfsbuch*, ii, 18, 1.

Hadiš, therefore, "went to Adam and Eve and asked them for bread of that corn. They gave it (to him) and he blessed it for them." "*That corn*" is appropriate here; for in the lines preceding our passage we read that Ohrmazd had provided Adam and Eve with cattle and corn, and instructed them in the cultivation of corn, etc. (*DkM.*, 593⁸⁻¹¹). They had bread even before Hadiš appeared on the scene. Hadiš asked them for some *and they gave it (to him)*: the corresponding Pahlavi words, *u-šān dād* (in N.'s transcription *api-šān dāt*), appear in Nyberg's translation as *et il le leur donna*. Professor Nyberg energetically demands that his critics should not confine themselves to briefly pointing out their divergent views, but should produce lengthy reasoned statements, quoting chapter and verse; would a classical philologist be expected to give reasons for rejecting the translation of *dabant* as "he gave"? The object of Hadiš' mission is to teach mankind to speak a blessing over their food before sitting down to it. The blessing should conclude with the formula known as *Ahunavar* to Zoroastrians (as *Ahuvar* to Nyberg): *u-š srūd ahunavar 2* "and he (Hadiš) recited two *Ahunavars*". Nyberg's version, *et il lit deux ahuvar*, instead of *il lut*, embodies an error that compares with the one he committed in his rendering of *u-šān dād*. In his order Ohrmazd said to Hadiš *srāyīšn ahunavar 2* = "you shall recite two *Ahunavars*". The form in *-īšn* has here (as often) the value of an imperative or optative; *srāyīšn/srūd* should join the three doubly attested verbs as a fourth.

We have now cleared the way for a consideration of the ending *DŠ*, which is here used for the 2nd person singular. Nyberg's article leaves one with the impression that the ending occurred solely in the Dinkerd passage; but in fact neither is it uncommon nor has it escaped the attention of scholars. We have already mentioned *z'd-DŠ* as the equivalent of Av. *šaiḍyōiš*, which is 2nd sing. optative, in *Yasna*, 65¹⁰. No deep study of the Pahlavi versions is required to discover that the ending *DŠ* is used, with fair regularity, to represent the Avestan 2nd sing. opt. In order to discover that, we have to be acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of both the manuscripts and the printed type that was (and still is) used in Europe. The only edition worth the name of the Pahl. *Yasna*, Vispered, and Vendidad, is that by Spiegel (1853-8). For the text of the *Yasna* he based himself, quite sensibly, on the MS. K₅. We can now control his readings, thanks to the full-length facsimile of K₅ we owe to the enterprise of Dr. Munksgaard; it is well known that K₅, written in A.D. 1323, is one of our oldest and most important Avesta MSS. (if not the most important). An exceptionally clear *DŠ* occurs in K₅, e.g. in *YMLLWN-DŠ*, fol. 294r. 3 (= [*fra*]mrū of Y., 65¹⁰, a corrupt form standing for either 2nd sing. imp. or opt.): in Spiegel's edition (p. 227¹⁹) we have *YMLLWN-ḤḤ* instead. And so it is everywhere. Throughout his work Spiegel printed *ḤḤ* for the *DŠ* of the MSS. He did that because he felt convinced that there was no real distinction between the two groups and because he knew that the MSS.

themselves frequently failed to maintain any such distinction. But he was not consequent and sometimes printed $D\check{S}$ (which in his print is not different from $DD\check{H}$) when he realized that the signs were meant to express $d\check{s}$, $y\check{s}$, etc.; thus he gives $BD\check{S}$ (or rather $BDD\check{H}$) for $b\check{e}s$ (e.g. p. 226⁹) while K_5 292r. 1 has $BD\check{S}$ with precisely the same group as in the verb ending. It should also be noted that the scribe of K_5 made no distinction between $D\check{S}$ and $DD\check{H}$; cf. e.g. 'LW N $D\check{S}$ = *arvandih* 295v. 1, GDH' $wmnD\check{S}$ = *farrah-ōmandih* 295r. apu., 'HL' $D\check{S}$ = *ahrāyih* 298r. apu. *et passim* (all of them $D\check{S}$ as in $YMLLWN-D\check{S}$), but also 'm' $wnDD\check{H}$ = *amāwandih* 295r. 11, etc. In common with the scribes of most old MSS., he thought very little of the difference between \check{s} and $y\check{h}$ (etc.), and so wrote *drwdstyh* 306r. 6 or 'p' tyh 323v. 2 with \check{S} or conversely 'P- \check{s} 248v. u., 'YK- \check{s} 301r. 6, *nywkšyt* 227v. 10 with clear $D\check{H}$. The "wrong" use of \check{s} and $y\check{h}/d'$, etc., is nearly as common as the "correct" one. This applies also to K_{20} .

It is less easy to decide whether the scribe of K_5 intended to make any difference between $D\check{S}/DD\check{H}$, on the one hand, and $H\check{H}$ on the other. It is a matter of some doubt. But it is quite certain that $H\check{H}$ is conventionally written for $DD\check{H}$ in many words in all Pahlavi MSS. Thus we have $H\check{H}$ with the value of $yā'$ = *iyā* in *mādiyān*, *miyān*, *niyāg*, *niyāz*, *viyāban*, *siyā(h)*, *friyād*, *pādiyāwand*, *ziyān*, *pit(i)yārag*, *siyāwuš* (e.g. K_{35} 79r. 4 sqq.). This same mode of spelling is habitually applied to the ending $D\check{S}$ in later MSS. where it appears as $H\check{H}$, i.e. precisely as in Spiegel's print. There is thus some justification for his mode of printing; for as he dealt with more than one MS. in editing his text, he could not very well be expected to produce as "variants" what are merely mannerisms of handwriting.

Examples for $D\check{S}/H\check{H}$: $B'YHWN-H\check{H}$ = *ayasōiš*, $Vd.$, 91⁴ (Sp., 131¹³); 'šnc $H\check{H}$ = *paiti.hinčōiš*, $Vd.$, 91⁶ (Sp., 132⁴ sqq.); *frakārayōiš*, $Vd.$, 91¹, appears as $ZRYTWN-H\check{H}$ ap. Sp., 130¹⁹ sqq., as $-DD\check{H}$ once in Jamasp's edition and in $FOim.$, v. It alternates with $-y\check{h}$ and the 2nd sing. impt. in $Vd.$, 17⁵ (Sp., 193¹²⁻⁴), $HPLWN-H\check{H}$ *avakanōiš* . . . $YBLWN-y\check{h}$ *abarōiš* . . . $pr'c$ $YMLLWN$ *framruyā*. In K_5 it has sometimes a semicircle each above and below, see $pr'c$ $YBLWN-D\check{S}$ = *frabarōiš* ($Y.$, 65¹⁰) fol. 293v. u. The same ending looks like a cross between $D\check{S}$ and x^2 in $YBLWN$ - in K_5 251r. 5 = *-barāhi*. Outside the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta the ending is used both for the 2nd sing. indic. and, in some MSS., also for the 3rd sing. opt. of the verb "to be". Thus AV. 3, 6, $Y'TWNt$ $HWH-H\check{H}$ "you have come" (twice) with variants $-DD\check{H}$, $-H$, $-HY$. *PahlRiv.*, 83³, *pursēd ku kanīzag kē xwēš HWH-H\check{H} gōvēd ku* . . . *man* . . . *tō xwēš hom* "he will ask 'my girl, whom do you belong to?', and she will say ' . . . to you' ". Ibid., 231, ⁶, *zīvist HWH-H\check{H}* "you have lived", $Y'TWN-t$ $HWH-H\check{H}$ "you have come". Ibid., 147 pu. *tō kē mard HWH-H\check{H}* "who are you?". These are all clear indicatives. As 3rd sing. opt. $HWH-H\check{H}$ occurs, in conditional clauses, etc., nearly throughout as auxiliary verb, in *Pahl. Riv.*, 27⁶, 38⁴ sqq., 46 papu., 52 pu., 53¹, 82², ⁹, 86⁴ (here variant $HWH-HD\check{H}$), etc.; occasionally the ideogram HWH is then omitted so that

spellings such as 'MT . . . SGYTWN-tHH arise (*Dd.*, p. 457, "as if . . . went," Pers. *raft-ē*), cf. the spelling YHWWN-tDB for YHWWN-t HWH-DB in "classical" Pahlavi (= Pers. *būd-ē*; cf. Spiegel, *Gramm. Huzv.*, § 117, n. 2).

The function of *DŠ/HH* in the texts translated from the Avesta as the ending of the 2nd sing. opt. (or subj.) was on the whole correctly understood by Spiegel in 1856 (*Gramm. Huzv.*, p. 110). In 1874 West gave *DŠ* or *HH* (mentioning both forms) as the ending of the 2nd sing. opt., and noticed the use of *HWH-HH* and its variants as 2nd sing. indic. and 3rd sing. opt. (*Glossary and Index*, p. 344). In the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (1895–1901), i, 1, 312, Salemann discussed the endings again; he noted all possible spellings, including both *DŠ* and *HH*, but doubted whether we should assume a separate form for the 2nd sing. opt. (or subj.). Nyberg, in 1944, does not know of the existence, outside his Dinkerd passage, of an ending whose function has been established for nearly a century.

How is the ending *DŠ/HH* to be read? It would be wrong to disregard the well-defined function it has in the oldest layer of Pahlavi texts. Spiegel was certainly right in maintaining that it should not be confused with the ending of the 2nd sing. indicative. The 2nd sing. opt. of the *aya*-class would end in $-\bar{e} < -ai < -ayaiš$ in Middle Persian; this, therefore, is the appropriate reading of *DŠ/HH*. After the loss of final *-h*, the 2nd sing. opt. became indistinguishable from the 2nd sing. indic., which had been $-\bar{e}h < -ai\bar{h} < -ayah < -ayahi$; the 2nd sing. opt. disappeared and merged in the 2nd sing. indic. The ending *DŠ/HH* thus became redundant and served for final $-\bar{e}$ or $-\bar{i}$,¹ at first only in the 2nd sing. indic., then also in the 3rd sing. opt., and even in nouns such as *gytHH* "world" = *gētē* or rather *gētī* (cf. the Old Syriac spelling *gtyh*, Nöldeke, *Festgruss Roth*, 35, n. 5), *MHHLLHH* = *Mahlī*, *MHHLLHHNH*² = *Mahliyānī*, *Pahl. Riv.*, 29¹¹ sqq.

As soon as the function and phonetic value of *DŠ/HH* are understood, it also becomes clear what letters are compounded into this ending. It will be remembered that in old MSS. the ligature is sometimes furnished with two semicircles (above, p. 63), of which the one above represents the upper half of the head of *D* and the one below indicates the tail of either *D* or *B*; both together prove that the group contained *D*. The whole group represents the old ending *-ydy*. If we apply to the ancient Pahlavi material, we find that from as early as the third century onwards *-ydy* is regularly employed for final $-\bar{e}/-\bar{i}$. It occurs often in the Pahlavi Psalter, see Schaefer, *Ung. Jbb.*, xv, 574 sq., but is found even in inscriptions by Šāpūr I, see provisionally *BSOS.*, IX, 829. In the Pahlavi Psalter a direct ancestor of our *DŠ* is attested in Ps., 129, 3 *HT* . . . *NTLWN-ydy* "if thou . . . shouldst mark"; *NTLWN-ydy* = *pāyē* is 2nd sing. opt. (not indic. as some authors say). It is

¹ The distinction of $-\bar{e}$ - and $-\bar{i}$ - in MPers. and early NPers. is a matter of some difficulty.

² This spelling exemplifies the three most common values of the group *HH*, viz. (1) ' + ' (*h* + *h*), (2) *yd* = *iṯā*, (3) in final position \bar{i}/\bar{e} . One would like to know how Nyberg would propose to read the word; in view of his words *gētāh* "world" and *frāhāt* "help", one would expect *Mahrahānāh*.

possible that the ending x^2 is, amongst other things, also a variant of “ $D\check{S}$ ”, cf. K. Barr, *BSOS.*, VIII, 402 sq.

We must not forget to mention that several years before he published the article here under discussion, Professor Nyberg happened on a passage in the *Pahl. Riv.*, a late text in which the ending $\bar{H}\bar{H}$ is particularly frequent as 2nd sing. indic. and 3rd sing. opt. (*La légende de Keresāspa. Oriental Studies* . . . C. E. Pavry, 1934 [written 1929], 336–352). He then interpreted the ending as $-\bar{ā}h$, explained evident indicatives as subjunctives (although $-\bar{ā}h$ is unknown to MPers. as ending of the 2nd sing. sbj.), and enriched the Pahlavi grammar by the 3rd sing. opt. $\bar{hā}h$. There is no point in discussing the details of an explanation that results in so peculiar forms. What is noteworthy is that the ending that he then explained as $-\bar{ā}h$, and the ending that he now interprets as $-\bar{ē}ndēh$, are one and the same ending; their identity may be slightly—only very slightly—obscured by the accidents of handwriting and printing type, but is for that not any the less real. It is not as if Nyberg had abandoned the earlier reading $-\bar{ā}h$ to substitute $-\bar{ē}ndēh$ for it; on the contrary, he now quotes it with approval (p. 72, n. 1; p. 81, n. 2).

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A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony

By W. B. HENNING

AS a good missionary and teacher Mani knew the value of repetition. With endless pains he had elaborated a story of the world, which was to explain all phenomena, of nature and the mind, that came within reach of his knowledge. Its comprehensiveness made it so complicated that it required—and still requires—a strong effort to remember all its details. All the greater was the need to force it, by ceaseless repetition, into the minds of those who were ready to listen to the new prophet. No doubt every one of his books and longer epistles opened with this story, which may have been the sole subject of several of them. It is therefore useless to try to identify the various accounts before us either with each other or with one of the books of which we know merely the title.

The chief versions of the Manichaean story of the world are the *Epistula Fundamenti*, the Middle Persian fragments M98/9, the Middle Persian book T iii D 260 (= *Mir. Man.*, i), the Uigur fragments T ii D 173 (*Türk. Man.*, i, 7–17), the book excerpted by Theodor bar Qōnai, and the one used by Ibn an-Nadīm. To these should be added the Sogdian book whose one surviving fragment is published here. Apparently it was the most elaborate account of all. Each form of the story has points that are peculiar to it and absent from all others; the Sogdian is no exception to this rule.

This Sogdian fragment is interesting also for its history. It was the first Manichaean fragment studied by a European scholar in modern times. With its help F. W. K. Müller tried to decipher the Manichaean script, but failed because its language was unknown (*Sb.P.A.W.*, 1904, 349, n. 1; *Handschriftenreste*, ii, 96 sq.). In printing, after his successful decipherment, a few excerpts from it he published the first Sogdian text ever made known. When one views the development of Sogdian studies, founded as they are on this first publication, one is surprised at finding that the fragment has remained in limbo these many years. By placing it before the public now we make *amende honorable* for long neglect.

M 178, “the best preserved Manichaean fragment, a double folio, of white, thin leather, a masterpiece of calligraphy” (Müller, loc. cit.). No photograph is available; the text is published according to a copy I took (from the original) about twelve years ago (possibly without due care). The lines printed by Müller are 14–16 and 83–99. Between the first folio (paradise) and the second (firmaments) three or even four double-folios, i.e. twelve or sixteen pages, may be missing (darkness, attack, first man, mixture, second creation, redemption of first man). The headlines do not give the contents of the pages, but

are pieces of a continuous text which ran from the first page of the book to the last and in content amounted to a colophon; they are these:—

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1st fol., recto | <i>β't prw mγwn dyyn</i> | ... shall be in the whole |
| verso | <i>'rt'wspy'h</i> | Church (and) Righteousness ... |
| 2nd fol., recto | <i>γw'nw'cyγ wny</i> | ... remission of sins to |
| verso | <i>γmbnβryyt</i> | the toil-weary ... |

First Folio : Paradise

(*Recto*) (1) wny mzyx 'xšywnyy zrw'βγγy (2) pyrnms'r o 'ty 'štyk x'nd (3) 'frytyt 'wt'kt kyy 'tyšn s'k (4) 'ty ptšm'r nyyst kw 'ty wδyyδ (5) myn'nd x' rwxšnd'h βγγšt (6) fryšttyt 'ty mrδ'spndt 'ty (7) z'wrkynd pr mzyx wγšww 'tyy (8) š'twxy' o 'rtšn wy' nwwšc (9) jw'nyy xw 'ny'm nyyst o o (10) 'rty ctf'rmyk 'wswγc bry'sic (11) wy' rwxšnw rwxšn'γrdmn'y (12) wyδ'snyq qršn'w wyn'mndyh (13) kyy 'tyšn wnyy šyr'kyy'sic ptm'k (14) nyyst o o 'rty βγγšttyy krjy'wr (15) ptmwk 'ty nγwδn γ'δwq δyδym 'ty (16) βwδ'ndc 'ps'k 'ty wyspznγ'n (17) zywr 'ty py'tyy xwtyy sfryn't (18) pr wrexwndqy' o o 'ty pnemyk (19) x'n' rwxšn' z'y xwymnyy nwšc (20) qryj'wr kyy 'tyšyy wyy sk'wyh^a (21) 'βy'p nyyst o 'rtyšyy xww (22) n'γwk'wyy ny 'p't βwt o 'rty (23) ny s'n 'tyyny ('wyjtq'ryyh (24) prywyδδ z'y 'nšprt oo 'rtyh (25) βγ'nyq pršprn 'bjyr'ync^{sic} (26) kyy 'ty 'yqwn ny 'βnwtyy o 'rty (27) xw wyspw šyrw 'yδc cywyδδyh (28) 'jyyt o 'rty yw pystyy 'xšnkt' (29) γrt' o wysp'sprymyy o rwstyh (30) prw γrβ p'ryzy' o 'ty wnd' (31) βryyβrynyyt zrywnyyt kyy 'tyšn xw (32) βryy kδ'c ny 'wryzt ny pwst (33) 'ty ny kymnyy βwt o o 'rtyy (*Verso*) (34) x'xsryyt nws'ft'kt kyy (35) 'ty 'mbyrtt w' nγtte (36) rwxšn'γrdmn mry r'γ pww (37) s'q 'spnctt š'ykn'd 'ty (38) γ'δwqt 'ty prt'wt kyy 'tyh (39) 'ykw'n 'ykw'n nwšyy 'skwnd o o (40) 'rty w'nw ptyc' xcyx x' (41) rwxšn'γrdmn prymyδδ pnc (42) mzyxy^b 'rty 'wrm wrmyy'h (43) 'skwnd o 'ty peqwyr ny ptz'nd^{sic} (44) prw rwxšny'k 'skwnd kw 'tyšn (45) xw t'ryy nyyst o prw nwšc jw'n (46) kw 'tyšn mrc nyyst o pr jwky' (47) pw r'f o prw wγšyy kw 'tyyšn (48) 'ndwxc nyyst o prw fry'wyyh (49) pww jyšt'wc o prw fryy'nw'z (50) kw 'tyšn yw'r nyyst o prw kršn (51) kyy 'ty ny wyγndyy^{sic} o prw βγ'nyyk (52) tmb'r kw 'ty wyg'n^{sic} nyyst o prw (53) nwšyny xwrt pww psyyδ kww (54) 'tyšyy prw γmbn 'ty wtyy' ny (55) βr'nd o 'ty pr wyn'mndyyh (56) pystyt xnd o 'ty z'wrkynd prw (57) z'wr o 'ty prw t'wndqy' šyyr (58) t'wndyt xnd o 'ty δyšt'wc n'm (59) ny ptz'n'nd^{sic} o 'rtpyšt pršt'tyt (60) qršn'wt 'ty pystyt xnd o 'rtšn (61) jyk' nyyst prywyšn tmb'r o (62) 'rtšn xw wγšndyy ptmwk 'βt't (63) βrywr znγ'n py'tyy xcyx rtyyny (64) kyy 'ty qδ'c rymnyy ny βwt oo (65) 'rtšn x' 'wt'kt ny wyqndyh^{sic}

^a Or *wyysk'wyh*. ^b *mzyy'*, corr. *pr.m.* into *mzyxy*.

Translation

[The Realm of Light is divided into "Five Greatnesses" (lines 41–2), the 五大 of Chinese Manichæism.¹ No. 1 is missing, of No. 2 only the last

¹ *Traité Manichéen*, 56 [532], 3; *Hymn-scroll*, 122b, 336c. They were incorrectly explained by Chavannes-Pelliot, loc. cit., n. 1, and Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Manich. Dogm.*, 495.

words are preserved. Cf. Allberry, *Manichæan Psalm-Book*, 9, “The Kingdom of Light . . . consisted in five Greatnesses, and they are [1] the Father and [2] his twelve Aeons and [3] the Aeons of the Aeons, [4] the Living Air, [5] the Land of Light.”]

. . . [the twelve Aeons who stand] before the Great King God Zarwān.

The third, the Blessed Places (= Aeons) without count and number (= *beata et gloriosa saecula neque numero neque prolixitate aestimanda*, *Ep. fund.*) wherein dwell the Light Gods, Angels, Elements, and Powers in great bliss and joy.

The fourth, the Pure Air in the Light Paradise, wondrous, beautiful to behold, immeasurable its goodness for them (= the Light Gods, etc.). By supernatural power it shall, by itself, bring into being (create) the gods’ marvel dress and garment, throne, diadem, and fragrant wreath, ornaments, and finery of all kinds.

The fifth, the Light Earth,¹ *self-existent, eternal, miraculous; in *height it is beyond *reach (?), its *depth cannot be perceived. No enemy and no *injurer walk this Earth: its divine pavement is of the substance of diamond (*vajra*) that does not shake for ever.² All good things are born from it: adorned, graceful hills wholly covered with flowers, grown in much excellence; green fruit-bearing trees whose fruits never *drop, never rot, and never become wormed³; springs flowing with ambrosia⁴ that fill the whole Paradise, its groves and plains; countless mansions and palaces, thrones and *benches that exist in perpetuity for ever and ever.

Thus arranged is the Paradise, in these Five Greatnesses. They are calm in quietude and know no fear. They live in the light, where they have no darkness; in eternal life, where they have no death; in health without sickness; in joy, where they have no sorrow; in charity without hatred; in the company of friends, where they have no separation; in a shape that is not brought to naught, in a divine body where there is no destruction; on ambrosial food without restriction,⁵ wherefore they bear no toil and hardship. In appearance they are ornate, in strength powerful, in wealth exceeding rich; of poverty they know not even the name. Nay, they are equipped, beautiful, and embellished; no damage occurs to their bodies. Their garment of joy is finery that never gets soiled, of seventy myriad kinds, set with jewels. Their places are never destroyed . . .

Notes

(3) *sāk* “number” (MPers., Parth. *sāg*) is from **sāhak*, cf. Av. †*sānha* “number” (Pahl. *marak*).

(13) Cf. the construction of *BBB.*, 43, b 6–8.

(19) *xwymnyy*, above translated as “self-existent”, is one of four hapax

¹ With this section the reader should compare the poetic treatment of the subject by Mār Ammō, in the first canto of *Huwīdagmān* (= *Hymn-scroll*, 261–338, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 199–208, 216–19).

² Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 271.

⁴ Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 304.

³ Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 296.

⁵ Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 281c–d.

legomena in as many lines; it may roughly correspond to (*terra*) *ingenita*. Perhaps **xwēmane* from **xwamēne* from an ancient compound **xwamanyaka*- (or the like) with *xwa*- “self” as first part; the second half may belong to Av. *mainya*- “authoritative”, which has derivatives in Sogdian, see Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 513,¹ or Sogd. *mēn*- “to be, stay, dwell” (*BBB.*, 97), which is from OPers. *mānaya*-, Av. *maṇaya*- “remain, wait”.

(20) *sk'wyh* almost certainly from 'sk- “high” (Chr. *sq*-).

(21) 'βy'p “reach” (or “limit”) from *abi* + *ap*- “reach, obtain”. The appertaining verb exists in Chr. Sogd. *by'pd'rm*, *S.T.*, ii, Lentz “*ich habe erfahren*” (cf. Pers. *dar-yāftan*), and possibly in β'y'p'y, *VJ.*, 743.

(22) *n'ywk'wyy* is probably the antonym of *sk'wyh* (20), hence “depth”. *nāyūk* occurs in unpublished fragments as both adjective (“deep”) and substantive (“depression”?). Cf. T ii D 93b (Sogd. script), *rt'y ZKwy n'ywk zryw . . .* ”*ph . . . c'δrs'r ptkwn šw'skwn* “he dived down into the deep ocean's water”. In Manich. script M 247 V 6 *n'ywq* ”*pyy* “deep water” (broken passage); M 502, l, V 4, *zryncł 'tyšn n'yw[k gap] zwf' pδδyngčł* “saves . . . and pulls them out of the jaws of the deep . . .”, cf. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1946, 180; M 452 b 11 (very broken) *γrt' zry[]wyy n'ywkt c[] . . . x'xsryt* “mountains, seas, . . . depressions, . . . springs”. Note *zry*- “sea” (Av. *zrayah*-), which was hitherto not known as a Sogdian word. Av. *nāvaya* “deep”?

(23) 'wyjtq'ryyh may render Parth. or MPers. *wzyndg'r*, hence from *wi-ḡati*- (as *wzynd* from *wi-ḡanti*-, if the Parthian is loan-word from MPers.)? The initial ' is difficult to explain.

(32) 'wryz- “to drop, be shed” was badly explained in *Sogdica*, 34, where the passage was quoted. The Sogdian verb cannot be separated from Persian *rīzīdan* “to drop, be shed (leaves, hair, etc.)”, which was confused with *rīxtan* “to pour” owing to the identity of their present stems; we had recently occasion to point out a similar confusion in the case of Persian *tīz* (*BSOAS.*, XII, 45). Decisive is here the existence of *rīz*- in Parthian where OIr. *raič*- would appear as *ryc*-, cf. M 171, 35 'wš . . . png ny rzyynd “its leaves are not shed” (the text was given in full in *BSOAS.*, XI, 63, n. 6). Here also belongs Pashto *rēžēdal*, *ražēdal* “to cast off, shed, to fall (as leaves)”, cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 65.

(38) *prt'w*-, above translated as “bench”, is evidently some kind of seat or bed, cf. M 521b 28/9]cšt *prt'wł γ[δwqł]* 'tyy w'δ. One wonders whether this word can be connected with Persian *پرده*, var. *پاردو* = **pārdav* (vocalized *pārdū*), which translates Ar. *ḡid'* “(the trunk of a palm-tree used as) a gallows” in the *Muqaddimatu 'l-Adab*, 22, 10; the glossators may have had in mind another meaning of *ḡid'*, viz. “roof-beam”. Vullers has *پردو* merely from the *Farhang-i Šu'ūrī* whose author attributes to it the meaning “skylight” and quotes a verse which seems to admit “roof-beam”. The *Burhān-i Qāṭi'* provides us with *پاردو* “a pole to support the branches of a fruit-laden tree”;

¹ With Chr. Sogd. *myn'br*-, cf. Oss. *mināvar*, *miniwāg*.

its *b-* is no doubt due to popular etymology (*bār* “fruit”); the author of the *Farhang-i Anjuman-ārāy-i Nāširī* throws doubt on this word and complains of its absence from other dictionaries; but it is given by Surūrī.¹ A popular form of *pārdū* or *pārdav* “beam, pole” is *دَرْدَ parde*, also not in the dictionaries, cf. *Muqaddimatu’ l-Adab*, 25, 6, *دَرْدَ* “a small *parde*” = Ar. *‘arīḍ* “joist (of a roof)”;
Gazophylacium linguae Persarum, 448, *trave: travicella* = *دَرْدَ*; cf. Velatru *pardi* “small sticks or pieces of wood laid in the ceiling at right angles to the larger beams” (Lambton, *Three Persian Dialects*, 90); it must not be confused with *parde* “curtain”. The word was neglected by the Persian lexicographers because it so happened that it was not used by poets.

(50) *yw’r* was discussed recently by M. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1936, i, 232, *Vessantara J.*, p. 97, and by myself, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 2; *BSOAS.*, XI, 487, n. 4. I now accept the meaning suggested by M. Benveniste (“separation”) in preference to that proposed by myself (“mourning”); M. Benveniste’s interpretation has the additional advantage of relieving us from the need of assuming two homographs *yw’r*.² “Separation” fits also Parth. *ww’r*. Cf. further Oss. *warin* (Dig. *iwarun*) “divide, distribute”, Khwarezmian *y’wār-*, imperf. *yāwār-* “to understand” (< “distinguish” < “separate”); to the same stem belong also Khwarezmian *bawār-* “to separate” (differently Freiman, *Učenie zapiski Leningradskogo Gosud. Univ.*, 1940, No. 60, p. 31) and MPers., Parth. *zw’r-*, Pahl. *uzwār-* “distinguish, understand”.

Second Folio: The Firmaments

On whatever subject Mani was writing or talking, he was always lavish with details. Unfortunately he frequently failed to notice that the details he produced on the spur of the moment did not square with his teachings of the day before. His picture of the world is a case in point. Minute circumstances are absurdly elaborated, but the whole is utter confusion. One saving quality is Mani’s consciousness of his shortcomings: to make his cosmologic views clear he published a volume of drawings and paintings, called the *Εἰκὼν* in the Coptic Manichaica, *Ard(a)hang* in Parthian, *Ertenk* in Persian.³ This volume, which in the Chinese “Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of the Buddha of Light Mani”⁴ is defined as “the drawing of the two great principles”,⁵ and his seven books, taken together, formed the canon of Mani’s works. The drawings, which are lost (a copy existed in Ghazna as late as the eleventh century), would no doubt have helped us to understand

¹ So at least in a MS. in my possession of the *Maǧma’u’ l-Furs* (first edition).

² I take this opportunity to tender my apologies to M. Benveniste for giving (in *BSOAS.*, XI, 723, note on 911) a wrong date (1939) to his article “Notes Sogdiennes (IV)”, *BSOS.*, IX, part 3, which in fact was published in the summer of 1938. I regret this error all the more as the later date was favourable to my argument, which I withdraw unreservedly.

³ Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, 18; cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 71, n. 4.

⁴ *Taishō Tripitaka*, vol. 54, No. 2141a.

⁵ It also contained pictures of the final judgment. In *Kephalaia*, 234 sq., an *Auditor* complains that his ultimate fate was not depicted in the volume.

many puzzling points; nevertheless one cannot help wishing Mani had made himself a little wax model of the world and kept it by his side and looked at it from time to time when talking on such enthralling subjects as the Eight Earths, the Exterior Hells, the Three Wheels, the Seven Great Columns, the posture of Atlas, the Giant of the Sea, the Veins of Connection, the Column of Glory, etc., etc.

Our fragment deals with the Ten Firmaments; comparable passages are *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 330; *Mir. Man.*, i, 178, 188 sqq.; *Mir. Man.*, iii, 888-890 (= M 67). Each Firmament has twelve Gates, which appear to be not connected with the twelve constellations, and another four Gates at the cardinal points. Each of the twelve Gates has six Thresholds. I have endeavoured to explain before that the idea of the Thresholds reflects a very primitive view of the movement of the sun in the sky, akin to that known from the Ethiopic *Book of Henoch*,¹ and is primarily not linked to the observation of the movement of the sun in the ecliptic (*Mir. Man.*, i, 188, n. 3; *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 34). Nevertheless, as the stay of the sun in a Threshold coincides with his stay in a zodiacal sign, in this way:—

while the sun is in the 1. Threshold, he is also in either Gemini or Cancer

| | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 2. Threshold | Taurus or Leo |
| 3. Threshold | Aries or Virgo |
| 4. Threshold | Pisces or Libra |
| 5. Threshold | Aquarius or Scorpio |
| 6. Threshold | Capricornus or Sagittarius, |

one can say that in the matter of time or degrees of the ecliptic a Threshold amounts in effect to a zodiacal sign. A clear time value can be attributed to several of the subdivisions of the Threshold; they are these:—

| How many of each group contained in one of pre- ceding group. | Sogdian. | Arabic. | MPers. | Parth. | Time Value. | Degrees of Ecliptic. |
|---|----------|---------|---------|------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| — | δβr | bāb | dr | br | — | — |
| 6 | pδynd | 'atabah | 'st'ng | 'st'ng | month | 30° |
| 30 | w'crn | sikkah | r'stw'n | r'stwzn | day | 1° |
| 12 | 'yzł | šaff | wcyhrg | ter, cmn ? | 2 h. | 5' |
| 2 | prs' | — | zm'n | 'rg | 1 h. | 150'' |
| 180 | qpyδ | — | — | — | 20 sec. | 50''' |
| 2 | — | — | wys'ng | m'nyst'n | 10 sec. | 25''' |

The image underlying the Sogdian designations of the subdivisions is that of a bazaar; *w'crn* is the Sogdian form of the word *bazaar*; *'yzł* should be a "row" or "street" of the bazaar, *prs'* one of the two "sides" of a street; hence, if there is any consistency, *qpyδ* must mean "shop" or "stall".

(*Recto*) (66) 'ty qr'nd kwn' cn šmnkw'nc (67) j'ryy o 'ty pswc 'rtšn pts'r (68) kw rwxšn'yrδmn s'r syn o o (69) 'rty pts'r wyδp't xw'βtkyšpy (70) xwt'w δn

¹ The (180) "gates of the sun" are mentioned in *Kephalaia*, 87, 21-3; cf. also *BSOAS.*, XI, 65, n. 2.

'rd'w'n m't o "γ'znd (71) nβyr't c'nw 'ty pts'cym w' (72) m'n' 'fembδδ o o (73) 'rtpts'r nwkr fr'γ'znd ptsyty (74) 'rtyšw 'ftmyy kwn'nd pne (75) fsp' o 'rty 'ww xšyšpt βγw (76) wδyδδ nyšyδ'nd o 'rtms (77) cywyδ c'δrstr ptys'cnd (78) δs' sm'nyy i wrcwnkre myj' (79) w'stnd xii rytyy o 'rty 'yw (80) βγp(š)yy wδyδ p'syy nyšyδ'nd (81) w'nw 'ty pr mγwn δs' sm'nyy (82) x' dywt prδβn ny kwn'nd o o (83) 'rtmstym xxxx fryštyyt (84) syfryn^{sic} ky 'ty 'ww δs' sm'nyh (85) 'skys'r p'trštwd'rnd o 'rty pr (86) wyspw sm'nyy xii xii xw^{sic} δbrt'^{sic} (87) ptys'cnd o o 'rtms tym 'nyt (88) iv iv δβr' pr ctf'r qyr'n (89) s'r mns'c'nd o 'wrδ kw 'ty (90) x' fryštyt 'skwnd o 'rty wyny x (91) sm'nytyy xw δβ'nzq'wy δs' (92) βryywr fswx xcy o 'rtyšn ms (93) x' βry' βrywr fswx 'rtpr xii (94) xii δβrt' ky 'ty wy' sm'nyty (95) 'skwnd o pr 'yw 'yw δβrw vi vi (96) pδynd mns'cnd o 'rty pr 'yw 'yw (97) pδynd qwn'nd xxx xxx w'crnd (*Verso*) (98) 'ty wy' 'yw 'yw w'crnyy (99) xii xii 'yzt pr 'yw 'yw prs' (100) clxxx qpyδ qwn'nd 'ty (101) pr δβtyk prs' clxxx (102) 'ty wy' wyspy' qpyyδyyh (103) ykšyšt 'ty dywt βynd'nd 'ty (104) pryqš'nd 'rty 'ww nyrkt cn (105) stryštyy ptyyn pryqš'nd (106) 'rty pts'r xw wyšprkr 'ww (107) sm'nxšyδ jyγyr o 'rtyšw (108) wy' 'βtmyk sm'nyyh pr (109) γ'δwk nyšyδ'nd 'ty pr mγwn (110) δs' sm'n xšyδ 'ty xwt'w (111) qwn'nd o 'rtpts'r cn δs' (112) sm'nyy c'δrstr n'snyh (113) cxyy 'ty 'nxrwzn ptys'cnd (114) 'rten w'ndt tmykt dywtty ky (115) 'ty βjng'rystrt 'ty βyjtrt (116) 'ty stβtrt' wm'tnd o 'rtšn (117) wy' 'nxrwznny cndr βynd'nd oo (118) 'ty xii 'nxr 'ty vii pxryyh pr (119) mγwn ptrysc' 'fembδ (120) 'xš'wnd'rt kwn'nd o 'rtyšn 'yw (121) wnyy δβty' pty'r w'stynd o o (122) 'ty cn wyspw dywtty ky 'ty wy' (123) 'nxrwznny βstyt xnd wyx r'k (124) 'ty ptβnd w'fnd 'ty ptyw'fnd (125) 'rty wy' c'δrcyq sm'nyh (126) βwn swmbnd o 'rty 'ww 'nxrwzn (127) cywyδ m'qwc'nd 'tyyh ii (128) βγpšyy p'syynd w'stynd w'nw (129) 'ty 'skycyq cxrw r'mndyy

Translation

[The Father orders the *Spiritus vivens* and the Mother of Life to create¹ the world] “. . . and clean them [= the Elements of Light] of the poison of Ahriman and purify them; thereafter raise them to the Paradise”.

Thereupon at once the Lord of the Seven Climes and the Mother of the Righteous began to plan how to arrange this world. Then they began to fashion it. First they made Five *Rugs; there they seated the Splenditenens. Thereunder they formed ten Firmaments, set up one magic twelve-faced *Lens. There they seated a Son of God as watcher, so that in all the ten Firmaments the demons could do no harm. Furthermore he (*sic*) evoked (created) forty angels, who hold the ten Firmaments upraised.

In each firmament they fashioned twelve Gates; another four Gates each they constructed in the four directions, there where those² angels stand.

¹ Or rather, to conform to Manichæan parlance, “arrange” or “fashion”. The Manichæans, strictly speaking, used the word *create* only of the process by which a divinity produces another divine being, of lower rank, by emanating it out of its own substance.

² The forty angels mentioned at the end of the preceding paragraph.

The thickness of the ten Firmaments is ten myriad parasangs; again, (the thickness of) their air is one myriad parasangs.¹

To each of the twelve Gates that exist in each of the Firmaments they constructed six Thresholds, to each Threshold thirty Bazaars, in each Bazaar twelve *Rows, [in each *Row two *Sides]²; to the one *Side they made one hundred and eighty *Stalls, to the other *Side (another) one hundred and eighty. In every *Stall they fettered and enclosed yakṣas and demons, the males separately from the females.³

Thereupon the All-maker (*Wišparkar*)⁴ called the Lord of the Firmaments. They⁵ seated him on a throne in the seventh⁶ heaven and made him the lord and king over all the ten Firmaments.

Then, below the ten Firmaments, they fashioned a rolling wheel and (*sic*) zodiac. Within the zodiac they fettered those of the demons of Darkness that were the most iniquitous, vicious, and rebellious. The twelve constellations (signs) and the seven planets they made rulers over the whole Mixed World, and set them in opposition to each other.⁷

From all the demons that had been imprisoned in the zodiac they wove to and fro the roots, veins, and links.⁸ In the lowest Firmament they bored a hole⁹ and suspended the zodiac from it. Two Sons of God were placed by them (there) as watchers, so as to . . . the Superior Wheel continually.¹⁰

¹ The passage is badly worded. Probably it means that the thickness of each Firmament is 10,000 parasangs, and the thickness of each layer of air between any two Firmaments is another 10,000 parasangs, so that the distance from the bottom of the lowest to the top of the highest of the Firmaments would be 190,000 parasangs.

² A whole line may have been omitted by the scribe (*xii xii' yzt pr 'yw 'yw 'yzt ii ii prs' pr 'yw' prs' clxxx qpyδ*, etc. ?).

³ That the demiurge took steps to prevent further procreation of the Powers of Darkness is commonly stated. Mani here made use of the astrologers' assertion that the planets and constellations are either male or female, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, book i, chs. 6 and 12.

⁴ = *Spiritus vivens*, see below, note on line 106.

⁵ = *Spiritus vivens* and Mother of Life.

⁶ See *Psalm-book*, 2, 10; *Kephalaia*, 80, 6; 83, 2; 87, 34, etc. The seventh Firmament is the seventh counting from below, cf. *Keph.*, 170, 23 sqq., where the *Rex honoris* = Sogd. *Smān-xšēδ* is said to be the ruler of merely the lower seven firmaments, the upper three being within the realm of the *Splenditenens*. Occasionally his throne is located in the third firmament (as in *Keph.*, 92, 25), evidently the third counting from the top. Mani here made a little mistake, by confusing cardinal and ordinal numbers (10 - 7 = 3, but the seventh from below is the fourth from above). As this mistake is of a kind of which modern scholars dealing with problems of chronology are not rarely found guilty, we must not be too hard on Mani; however, we can say that Cosmas Indicopleustes displayed little judgment when he talked of him as of a *μηχανικοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ λογίου καὶ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς ἐμπείρου* (cf. Beausobre, *Hist. de Manichée*, ii, 374).

⁷ Cf. *Kephalaia*, 167, 14-15.

⁸ On these roots, veins, links, tethers, *lihme*, see *JRAS.*, 1942, 232, n. 6; *BSOAS.*, XI, 71. In the *Kephalaia* the chief passages are 88; 118, 3; 119, 8-20; 120 sqq.; 125; 213-16. The new material serves to elucidate the previously misunderstood references to *ρίζαι/radices* in the *Acta Archelai*, 14 sq.

⁹ That is, the North Pole. The roots, etc., of the zodiac are passed through this "hole" and attached to the Superior Wheel, which lies before the *Rex honoris* in the seventh firmament, see below, note on line 78.

¹⁰ Cf. M 98 R 3-6, "and they (= *Spir. viv.* and Mother of Life) suspended it (= zodiac) from the lowest firmament and, to make it turn ceaselessly at call, they set over it two angels,

Notes

(69–70) *’βtkyšpy xwt’w* “Lord of the Seven Climes” = “Lord of the World”, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 721, on *αβδ-kišp* = Pers. *haft kišvar*. In Sogdian he is more often known by his original name, *Spiritus vivens*, which generally appears in its Parthian form, *w’d jywndg* or (in phonetic transcription) *w’δ jywndyy* = *wāδ-žiwande*. Both names together are used in the little fragment T ii D 66, 2, of which we give here the whole *recto* page. (1) . . . *vi* (2) *’xšywnyṭ βγγštty oo cn* (3) *s’rst’ xšy[wnyḥ] myš(’)* (4) *xwt’w o cn ’βtkšpyḥ* (5) *xwt’w w’δjywndyy ’tyḥ* (6) *’rδ’w’n m’tty o cn wwnyny* (7) *y’xyy ptryy^{sic} xwp xwrmzṭ’* (8) *βγ o cn ’nj’wnyy xwt’w* (9) *yšw dyn’n ’xšyδ oo cn* (10) *rwššn’ βγpwryc wrzkrc* “[From] six kings (and) gods, from (1) the magnificent king, Lord *Miši*, from (2) the Lord of the Seven Climes, the Living Spirit, and (3) the Mother of the Righteous, from (4) the victorious and brave Father, skilful God *Xurmazda*, from (5) the redeemer Lord Jesus, the Prince of the Churches, from (6) the shining Daughter of God, the wondrous . . .”. These six are the *Tertius Legatus*, *Spiritus vivens*, Mother of Life, *Primus Homo*, Jesus, and the Maiden of Light.

(75) *fsp’*, above translated as “rug”. The word has not been noticed elsewhere. The five *faspā* are beyond the ten firmaments; they intervene between the Paradise and the Mixed World. There is an abundance of “walls” and “moats” in this world, in the Manichæan view, but *five* walls exist in sun and moon only; in Sogdian the words are *δ’t* “wall” and *prkn* “moat” = MPers. *pārgin* (e.g. in M 128; M 664; T ii D 116); the Universe is bounded by a single wall, see M 98 V 13, M 99 V 2; *Kephalaia* 91, 5; *Fihrist*, 330, 21 (but cf. *Psalm-book*, 139, 13–14). The world has a “roof”, *Kephalaia*, 170, 25 (cf. 80, 2, of the New World), there are “watch-towers” in the realm of the *Splenditenens*, *Psalm-book*, 138, 26, which is further described as a “camp”, *Kephalaia*, 92, 13. All this does not help us to define the meaning of *faspā*. There are, as far as I know, only two passages in the Manichæan literature that give any information on the “roof of the world”, *Kephalaia*, 90, 24, and 170, 2; in both macrocosm and microcosm are confronted. *Keph.*, 90, 22 sqq., “the head of the cosmos is the ἀρχή of the Garments; its throat is the neck of the Garments; its stomach is the five ἀλώματα, which are the . . . of the Garments”; the items next mentioned are the firmaments and the sphere. *Keph.*, 170, 1 sqq., “his head corresponds to the ἀπαρχή of the five Garments”, followed by the ten firmaments and the “wheel of the sphere”. These Garments are undoubtedly the Three¹ Garments or Wheels of wind, fire, and water, in which the late F. Cumont recognized the elemental spheres

a male and a female.” With these words concludes the description of the creation of the firmaments in that fragment; they agree closely with the last words of our fragment. We can thus confidently say that the description of the firmaments is complete in our text, except for two or three words.

¹ Despite the unpleasant fact that their number is said to be five in *Keph.*, 170, 2. Perhaps “five garments” there is ellipsis of “five spreads of the three garments”. Different are the five “great garments” of *Keph.*, 177, 2–3, which came into existence only after the third creation.

(water, air, fire) of the Stoics, which surround the earth. According to the Manichæans the Garments, although they have their proper place under our earth, also encompass the universe and so have their ἀπαρχή on the roof of the world. They had to be protected against the Powers of Darkness and therefore were enveloped in the five ἀπλώματα. These “spreads” obviously accompanied the Garments from their emplacement in the “third earth” to the top of the world; it is thus appropriate that they should be mentioned as the first thing created in the Mixed World. With the ἀπλώματα we would identify also the *maškbē*,¹ “mattresses” or “beds”, named by Theodor bar Qonai in connection with the Garments, in a troublesome passage (Pognon, 129, 6; cf. Cumont, i, 31 sq.; Schæder, *Studien*, 345; Jackson, 240). At any rate, Sogdian *faspā* = Syr. *maškbā* = ἄπλωμα. Hence, from Av. *fraspāt*-, Yt. 15, 2, between *gātu*- “throne, couch” and *upastərəna*- “spread, rug”, cf. Pers. *farasp* “tapestry”.²

(78) *myj*’, above translated as “lens”. Not found elsewhere in Sogdian. The passage can be interpreted in three ways. Firstly, it is commonly said that the *Spiritus vivens* created “ten firmaments and one wheel (of the sphere)” ; hence, “magic *myj*’” = the zodiac ? This must be discarded, because the zodiac is dealt with later on (111 sqq.) and ought not to have been mentioned here. Secondly, the second half of the sentence, “they set up one magic *myj*’”, could be meant merely to define the shape of the ten firmaments in their totality (“they formed ten firmaments and set them up as a, or in the shape of a, magic twelve-faced *myj*’”). It seems to me that this, too, must be rejected, because the wording scarcely admits this sense; the numeral “one” would not have been used; there would have been *tyšn c’nw* (or some such words) after *sm’nyy*. The third possibility, the only one that seems to meet the case, is that the “magic *myj*’” is an object that is distinct from the firmaments, not forming part of them, but situated within the area occupied by them. Only one such object is known from other sources: the “wheel that lies in front of the *Rex honoris*”, to which a whole chapter of the *Kephalaia* (xxxvi, pp. 87 sq.) is devoted. This “wheel”, which must not be confused with the “wheel of the sphere” (as was done by A. Böhlig in his summary of the contents, *Keph.*, p. xxii), fully deserves the epithet “magical”. The invisible “roots” of the firmaments, Archons, and Elements are tied to it. All that happens in the firmaments can be seen in it by the *Rex honoris*, seated on a throne in the

¹ Thus to be read as plural (with Pognon).

² Regrettably this meaning is anything but assured. The *Burhān* has it from Surūrī, who declines responsibility for it and attributes it to the *Nuṣṣe-i Mīrzā Ibrāhīm*, a book (No. 56 in Blochmann’s list) used also by the author of the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, who, however, refrains from giving this meaning, perhaps wisely. Ordinarily *farasp/farasb* is a “roof-beam”, see e.g. *Ibn Isfandiyār’s Hist. of Tabaristān*, tr. E. G. Browne, p. 39, n. 1 = ed. Tehran, i, 87, 7 [the unknown پلور there is a local word for “rafter”, cf. Velatru *palvar*, Lambton, *Three Persian Dialects*, 90; in the *Muqaddimatu ‘l-Adab*, 25, 5, بلوازه = Ar. *‘arīḍ* could be *بلواره]; Asadi ed. Iqbal; *Shahname* (once); ŠF. (three times); etc. “Roof-beam” is also the meaning of Pahl. *frasp* in AV., ii, 11, 12.

seventh heaven; it is his magic mirror (cf. *Keph.*, 88, 31, “the wheel is like unto a great mirror”); there are twelve “forms” or “figures” (τύποι) in it, cf. the Sogdian *xii-rytyy*, lit. “twelve-faced” (cf. *’yw-ryt’k* “μονοπρόσωπος”, P 8, 107, of a *pδ’k* = *palā*, elsewhere *pr*”, *pr’kh* = banner). A “Light-faced wheel” is mentioned in the *Psalm-book*, 138, 32, though as belonging to the *Splenditenens* (cf. *ibid.*, 138, 38, “the *Rex honoris* . . . who looks after the root of Light”); it is doubtful whether *’skycyq cax-* “superior wheel” (lit. “high-lying wheel”) in our fragment, line 129, refers to the King of Honour’s television set (the parallel passage quoted above, p. 313, n. 10, can be said to militate against it). Now, if it is conceded that the “magic *myj*” is this “magic mirror”, we can more confidently hope to discover the meaning of the Sogdian word. I had considered “wheel”, “mirror”, “orb”, “prism”, ending up with “disk”, when it occurred to me that *myj* could well be the Sogdian word for “lentil”. Persian *mīzū*, *mīḡū*, also مژو = *mīzū* “lentil” (e.g. *Muqaddimatu ’l-Adab*, 14, 15; 60, 14 = Ar. *’adas* is *mīzūk* in Pahlavi; it is spelled *myčwk* and *myšwk*,¹ cf. Geiger, *BSOS.*, VIII, 552; wavering between *č* and *š* in Pahlavi invariably indicates the rare sound *ž*. The Old Iranian form was **mīžu-* or **maižu-* (**mīḡu-* or **maiḡu-*). Since old *u*-stems often appear in Sogdian with the ending *-ā*, as e.g. Man. Sogd. *β’z*’, Buddh. Sogd. *β’z’kh*, OIr. *bāzu-*, Pers. *bāzū* (*BSOAS.*, XI, 732), or Man. Sogd. *prs’*, Buddh. Sogd. *prs’kh*, OIr. *parsu-* (Av. *parasu-*, *pərəsu-*), Pers. *pahlū*, the postulated OIr. word for “lentil”, if it existed in Sogdian, should be **mīzā* (Man. **myj*’, Buddh. **myz’kh*) in that language, precisely the form found in our text. Accordingly, I have ventured to translate as “lens”, in the sense of “any object resembling a lentil or the double-convex optical lens in form” (second meaning in Webster’s *Internat. Dict.*; the optical lens was invented about a millennium after Mani’s time). Words for “lentil” were used for lenticular objects in antiquity, chiefly, it seems, for hot-water bottles, also for various kinds of flasks, etc.; so Lat. *lenticula*, Gr. *φακός*, Late Hebrew *’adāšāh*, cf. I. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, 182. As early as the time of Trajan the crystalline *lens* was so described, as *φακοειδής*, by Rufus of Ephesus, cf. G. Sarton, *Introd. to the Hist. of Science*, i, 282. [On magic mirrors, cups, etc., see B. Laufer, “The Prehistory of Television”, *The Scientific Monthly*, xxvii (1928), 455 sqq.]

(99–100) *’yzt*, *prs’*, *qpyδ*. The *-t* of *’yzt* “row” or “street” forms part of the word, see the passages below; wrongly *BBB.*, 122; *BSOAS.*, XI, 727. Chr. Sogd. *’yzt*, too, is singular = “street” (Lentz translated as “Plätze”). On *prs’* “side” see the preceding note; *prs’kh*, as “rib”, in P 7, 57. The word for “shop, stall”, *qpyδ* = **kəpīl* (?), recalls Pers. *kulbe* (Man. MPers. *kurbag*, Arm. *krpak*, etc.).—Cf. M 108, 10 (very broken passage) *s]m’nyt’ n̄xrwzn bystyjt* [] *’yzt’ tyy qpyδtt* [] *’rt̄y δs’h*. Of greater importance is the fragment M 548, a miserable scrap, which once contained a different recension, but one very close to the one published here, of the “story of the world”.

¹ In the same passage in different recensions and MSS.; there is thus no need to consider other words such as Pers. *mušang* “green pea” (Kabuli *mušunk*).

Its *recto* page corresponds to lines 97–105, its *verso* page to 122–4:—

M 548, *recto*

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) šys xxx w'crndt' skw[| [in every threshold] are thirty |
| (2) wyspw w'e(r)[n]yy xii xii 'yz[| bazaars each, in each bazaar 12 |
| (3) 'styy oo wy[spy'] 'yzdtty cyndr[| rows, in each row [3]60 stalls. |
| (4) [xxxx]xx kpyδ 'styy o 'rtȳ myš[| Those bazaars, stalls, rows |
| (5) . . .] kpyδt 'yzdt' tȳ w'cr[| . . . [therein] are [fettered] |
| (6) . . .] s't δywt xnd o kyy r[| all demons that . . . |
| (7)]tsk[| |

M 548, *verso*

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| (8)]tδ'rt' tȳh sm'nyytt | . . . he did . . . and the heavens . . . |
| (9) p]δync'nd o 'rtȳ s[m]'[n]yyt' tȳh | they pulled up, and the heavens . . . |
| (10)]en xyδδ δyw[tȳy p]rm (wyxth ?) | from those demons roots |
| (11)] sn'wt[']tȳy δ . . . | . . . sinews and . . . |

(106) *wyšprkr* need not be a proper name (as assumed in *BBB.*, 60), but can be an appellative and hence refer to the *Spiritus vivens*; thus it may have the force of “demiurge”. According to M. Benveniste (see *Textes Sogdiens*, p. 215) *wyšprkr* should be the Indian *Viśvakarman* in disguise. This is ingenious and possibly even true. Except for the š, apparently the sole reminder of its Indian origin, *wyšp-rkr* would be correct Sogdian for *Viśva-karman*; Sogd. *arkar-*, preserved only in the compound *'rkr-un(')y* = *saṃskṛta-*, is no doubt identical with *'rk-* “work, job, deed” (presumably an ancient *r/n*-stem); even the š can perhaps be excused, with the help of *wyšpšy* “prince”. It is possible that *wyšprkr* is a genuine Sogdian word that merely coincided with the Indian name. At any rate, my identification of *wyšprkr* with the *Myzdg'tc'wd'zdygr yzd* of *Mir. Man.*, i, 178, was ill-considered. After the creation of the world the *Spiritus vivens* and the Mother of Life place that “divine messenger”, whose nature and position in the Manichæan pantheon remain unexplained, before another god, whom I proposed, in the edition of the text, to identify with either the *Rex honoris* or the *Splenditenens* (with some measure of preference for the former). Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Man. Dogm.*, 510, declared that the second alternative was not worth considering. However, if one translates the passage *mot à mot*, it is easily seen that the *Splenditenens* and no other is meant there. “(That god) who stands *above* that firmament and *holds the head(s) of those gods*”—“*those gods*” nearly throughout refers to the Elements. Properly understood, the sentence at once recalls the words used by St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xv, 5, *Ostende nobis moechos tuos, Splenditenentem ponderatorem et Atlantem laturarium: Illum enim dicis capita elementorum tenere mundumque substinere, istum autem genu fixo, scapulis validis subbajulare tantam molem utique ne ille deficiat.*

[Additional Note.—The meaning “shop, stall” conjectured above, pp. 311, 316, for *qpyδ*, is confirmed by a series of words in Turkish languages, which

were probably borrowed from Sogdian ; in the Eastern dialects of Sogdian the pronunciation of *qpyδ* approached **kepid*, cf. *BSOAS.*, X, 97. Kāšyārī, i, 298⁵, کبت *kebit* = *hānūt* “shop, tavern” ; *Hua-yi-yi-yü*, ed. Klaproth, 20^b, *k'pyt* = *kebit* “*Bude*”, with reference to Tatar كبيت ; *Codex Cumanicus*, 78²⁸, *chebit* = *apotecha* = *duchan* (*dukkān*) ; Radlov, ii, 1400, 1416 *kibit* “*lavka, Laden*” for Tobol and Kazan dialects. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxviii, 1931, 112, whose tentative comparison with Mongol (etc.) *kābis* “carpet” can scarcely be maintained, ascribed the word to Mongol ; it occurs, according to him, in the Mongol *Hua-yi-yi-yü* ; it is not found in the Mongol material generally accessible.]

ADDENDUM

Unfortunately I overlooked the tiny fragment T ii D 139, 3^a, another copy of the text of the first folio of M 178 (above, p. 307). It is from the middle of a page and has no complete lines. Its *recto* page corresponds to lines 32–46, its *verso* to lines 54–65 ; it has a few additional words at the end. Variants :— (33) *qyrnnyy* (35) 'tyy (36) + o 'tyy before *mr[γ]* (37) [s]'k 'tyy 'spyn(c)[t] (40) [']rtyy w'n[w] p[ts]tyy^{sic} [(42) *wrmy'h* (43) *ptz'n'nd* (45) *nyyst* (46) [']t[y]y instead of 'tyšn (54) [wt'y']h nwy β[mistake (56)]styyt xn[d (56/7)]pr z'wr o 'ty pr [t'wn]dky' (58) 'rtyy δ(y)[š]twwc (59) [pt]z'n'nt^{sic} o 'rtyh py[št] (60) ppy's[t]y[] (61) apparently (pr) wyšn (62) 'βt't is expressed by numbers, p[pp]h = lxx (63) *xcyh* o (64) *rymnyh*.

End of fragment :—]t'qt n(yy) (?) *wgyndy*] (= 65)

]y'k t'rc ny[y] β[

]š[.]nd xw[.]' βw[

The variants are, on the whole, purely orthographical. They suggest, however, two improvements in the translation printed above, p. 308 :—lines 34 sqq. “ All good things are born from it . . . springs flowing with ambrosia that fill the whole Paradise ; countless groves and plains, and mansions, etc.” ; lines 45/6 “ in eternal life without death ”. The last words of the text probably mean “ Their places are never destroyed, [their ? bright]ness never becomes darkened. The . . .s [emit] delicious fragrance (*xw[c]*' βw[δ] ?).”

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RATANBAI KATRAK LECTURES

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ZOROASTER

POLITICIAN OR WITCH-DOCTOR?

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FIRST LECTURE

I AM conscious of the honour conferred upon me by the University of Oxford in inviting me to deliver the third series of Ratanbai Katrak Lectures. These lectures, which were founded by the late Dr. Nanabhai Navroji Katrak of Bombay, were first given in 1925 by Dr. Gray of Columbia University, under the title of 'The Foundations of the Iranian Religions'. Dr. Gray gave a valuable and comprehensive survey of the Iranian Pantheon and Pandemonium, which, later published in Bombay, did not, at any rate in the West, receive the attention to which it was entitled.

The second series was delivered by Professor Bailey, of the University of Cambridge, in 1936 and published by the Oxford University Press in 1943. The modest title of his lectures, 'Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books', underrates their value. They are, in fact, perfect specimens of the manner in which the problems of the Iranian past, in particular the problems of the Zoroastrian religion, should be dealt with nowadays; that is to say, not only with a proper understanding of the Pahlavi literature, which remains *terra incognita* to most other scholars, but also with the fullest use of the Middle Iranian material that has come to us from central Asia in the course of the present century. The standard Professor Bailey has set in his lectures should serve as a warning to those rash spirits who engage in Zoroastrian studies without equipping themselves properly, without reading the Pahlavi literature, without learning to handle the intricate Manichaean fragments in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian, without studying the Sogdian and Khotanese books. The days when a knowledge of the Avesta and a dash of Pahlavi were considered sufficient are irrevocably past.

The Electors to the Ratanbai Katrak Lecturership allow the lecturer complete freedom to choose his own subject, provided it is connected with the study of the Zoroastrian religion or its later developments. On this occasion they expressed the wish that if possible I should, in the course of these lectures, define my attitude towards the theories propounded by Professor Nyberg. It was a pleasure to me to accept this suggestion and so secure an opportunity

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for enlarging on the opinions I expressed briefly in the course of a review of Professor Nyberg's book, *The Religions of Ancient Iran*.¹

Any discussion of Professor Nyberg's theories is bound to have constant regard to the latest and—regrettably—last work published by Professor Herzfeld in 1947, a few months before his death, which we lament as the greatest blow to Iranian Studies in recent years. Herzfeld's work, *Zoroaster and his World*, has been aptly described by a friend of mine as 'an 800-page review of Nyberg's book'; indeed, Herzfeld has discussed and criticized, and at great length, almost every word that Nyberg had written. As I am often in agreement with Herzfeld's views, as far as his criticism of Nyberg's theories goes, my task has been eased considerably; for most of what I proposed to say on this subject has now already been said by Herzfeld, probably much better than I could do it. However, Herzfeld's work is by no means confined to mere criticism. His main object was to state and restate his own theories on Zoroaster, to which he had devoted a great deal of his writing in the last twenty years: he restates opinions he had held for a long time, he elaborates them, he fortifies them by fresh argument, and at the same time he criticizes Nyberg, as indeed Nyberg, on his part, had criticized him in his own book. A controversy between these two scholars was natural and inevitable; for their disagreement on everything that concerns Zoroaster is complete.

Herzfeld's Zoroaster was a man who lived his life in the full light of history, in the time of Cyrus and Darius. By birth and by marriage, he was himself a member of the two royal houses that dominated the history of Ancient Iran, of the Median dynasty and of its successor, the Persian house of the Achaemenides. Astyages, the last of the Median kings, whom Cyrus deposed, was Zoroaster's grandfather. After Cyrus had gained his great victory, he married Zoroaster's mother. Cyrus' daughter, Atossa, was therefore half-sister to Zoroaster. Atossa married Cambyses, Cyrus' son and successor, and after the early death of Cambyses she married his successor, the Great King Darius. Through Atossa, therefore, Zoroaster was brother-in-law to both Cambyses and Darius.

Herzfeld's Zoroaster was primarily a politician. He soon got into difficulties with the government authorities—not because (as we might perhaps expect) he had claims to the throne himself; for as

¹ *The Journal of Theological Studies*, xliv (1943), pp. 119-22.

a grandson of Astyages he might have planned the removal of Cyrus or Cambyses, he might have plotted for the restoration of the Median royal house, of which he himself was the chief; but such considerations do not seem to have entered his head. His sole interest, as politician, was to improve the situation of agricultural labour in Media, or, to use Herzfeld's own words, he wanted 'to replace serfdom by the voluntary, sworn-to obedience of the vassal'.¹ In pursuit of this aim he got into conflict with the ruling classes, the great land-owners, noblemen, and priests. He was indicted as a revolutionary in Rayā, his home-town, and brought before a court presided over by none other than Gaumāta the Magian, who later usurped the kingship and was murdered by Darius. Gaumāta condemned him to banishment, and Cambyses, at that time Viceroy of Media—for all this happened still during the lifetime of Cyrus—confirmed the judgement.² Zoroaster was extremely indignant at the treatment he had suffered, most of all with Cambyses who, as his step-brother, should, by ancient right, have upheld him.

Now comes that memorable journey into exile to which Herzfeld has devoted so much labour, the journey along the post-road from Rayā to Tūs with the now famous halt at Qūmis where a certain Persian gentleman refused to let him stay in his castle as a refugee. In each of his recent books Herzfeld has added fresh details to this story: now everything has become clear, except the one point whether the coach in which Zoroaster travelled was his own or one hired from a friend.³

For the whole fascinating tale, Gaumāta's court, Cambyses' failure to revise the judgement, Rayā, Qūmis, Tūs—for all this Herzfeld has discovered clear evidence in Zoroaster's own poems, the Gāthās, which in this matter are his sole source. All previous students, and there have been many, have failed to find any reference to any such events in the Gāthās, or for that matter anywhere else.

At Tūs Zoroaster found favour with the there residing satrap of Parthia, Vištāspa, the father of Darius who was destined to become the King of Kings of Persia after the death of Cambyses. At Vištāspa's court important positions were held by two brothers, Jāmāspa and Frañauštra, members of a leading Persian family. Zoroaster thought it wise to strengthen his position by allying

¹ Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his World*, i. 349; cf. *ibid.* 199.

² Cf. *ibid.* 202.

³ Cf. *ibid.* 186.

himself to this family, and so added a daughter of Frašauštra's to his harem. His newly acquired relatives did all they could to reverse the judgement of banishment which Cambyzes had so naughtily confirmed: both Jāmāspa and Frašauštra travelled from Tūs to the far-distant court of the Great King Cyrus himself to intercede on his behalf.¹ Cyrus, who after all was Zoroaster's step-father, could well be expected to stretch out a helping hand to the fugitive. But all was in vain: Zoroaster had to remain at Tūs, cut off from the centres of the Persian Empire, cut off from the chance of indulging in political intrigues, his favourite occupation. All he could do, and did do, was to compose a few more verses cursing Cambyzes and his bosom-friend Gaumāta.

After Cyrus died and Cambyzes succeeded to the throne, Zoroaster's prospects of re-establishing himself in the rank to which he was born seemed to disappear altogether. However, fate smiled on him again: soon he could rejoice at the news of the sudden death of Cambyzes, and soon he could arrange, behind the scenes, for the murder of his bitterest enemy, Gaumāta the Magian.

The story of Cambyzes, his misdeeds and his misfortunes, how he had his younger brother Bardiya secretly killed, how during his absence from Persia Gaumāta the Magian usurped the throne pretending to be Bardiya, how Cambyzes died when he hurriedly returned from Egypt, how the impersonation of Bardiya by Gaumāta was discovered, and how seven noble Persians, Darius among them, murdered Gaumāta and proclaimed Darius as King of Kings—the story is too well known to bear repetition. Here we are concerned solely with the role that Zoroaster is said to have played in the matter.

The man to whom Cambyzes had entrusted the task of killing his brother was, according to Herodotus, Prexaspes, a noble Persian. This Prexaspes, we learn from Herzfeld, was the brother of Jāmāspa and Frašauštra, an uncle, therefore, of one of Zoroaster's wives. Herodotus makes it clear that Prexaspes kept his secret carefully enough; his life would have been forfeit had it become known that he had slain the heir-apparent to the throne. However that be, thanks to Herzfeld we know now that Prexaspes could not, after all, keep the secret from his brothers. He might as well have told everybody; for his brother Frašauštra, of course, told his daughter, and his daughter told her husband, Zoroaster, and Zoroaster glee-

¹ Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.* i. 203.

fully told the world. And when the news of the death of Cambyses had reached Tūs, he saw at last how he could revenge himself on Gaumāta. He composed a few more stirring verses to incite his listeners to the murder of the usurper;¹ one at least among them, Darius the son of Vištāspa, hung on his lips and hastened away to do the deed to which Zoroaster had inspired him.

It is a matter for regret that when Darius, after his success, set up an inscription to commemorate these events and enumerated the names of his helpers in it, he did not so much as mention the name of Zoroaster to whose advice he was so greatly indebted. Those who disputed Herzfeld's theories inevitably pointed out that the omission of Zoroaster's name was significant. However, this point has been cleared up now: it was at Zoroaster's own suggestion that his part in the affair was not mentioned: *he wished to work in the dark*. Here we have the picture of two men who conspire to hide the truth, but who, in their speeches and writings, almost monotonously, enjoin the speaking of Truth as the chief duty of Man, who never cease condemning all lies and liars, all deceit and hypocrisy. And one of these two cunning and hypocritical intriguers was the man whom the Persians, mistakenly it seems, regarded as their prophet for many centuries.

So much for Herzfeld's Zoroaster. Nyberg's Zoroaster is a very different kind of person. He lived somewhere in the region of Oxus and Jaxartes, beyond the countries that had come into contact with the civilized states of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, in a nation that had no history. He was a prehistoric man. While Herzfeld gives us precise dates for almost every event of Zoroaster's life, Nyberg declares that the question of Zoroaster's date is altogether unessential and without interest.²

In his tribe Zoroaster held the hereditary office of witch-doctor or medicine-man. He faithfully fulfilled the duties that were attached to this position among the savage tribes of Inner-Asia before they were subdued and civilized by the Persian Empire. Their religion can be best described as a form of shamanism; its chief points are two, both of equal importance: the ordeal and the Maga. The tribal mythology, theology, and all rites derive from ordeal and Maga; they are their functions. The ordeal, the divine judgement here carried out by pouring molten metal on the litigants, is

¹ Cf. *ibid.* i. 202.

² Cf. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, p. 45.

self-explanatory; it was administered by a college of Fellows of the Ordeal, presided over by Zoroaster as medicine-man and shaman-in-chief.

It is less easy to explain the purport of the Maga. Secondly, the Maga is an enclosure within which the sacred rites are performed; primarily it is a term for 'magic singing', and as a collective, 'a group of people engaging in magic songs'. Within the Maga the members of the tribe who were admitted to the sacred community met from time to time to perform certain acts that aimed at reaching a state of ecstasy. The chief means employed to this end were singing and probably dancing, hence the curious name. Quicker results were reached by the application of steam and hemp (the question whether Zoroaster used hemp for such purposes will be discussed later).

As soon as the participants in these ceremonies had fallen into a trance, they began to shout incomprehensible words and syllables; but presently they fell into a complete coma. In this state they imagined themselves to reach a mystical union with God, or rather with Vohu Manah. Their souls, released by trance from the body, rose up to the higher regions to join with other souls who had been freed either in the same way or by death; there is no real difference between these two groups: as we might say 'sleep is the brother of death' the shamanists would have said 'trance is the brother of death'. Vohu Manah is the collective of the Free-souls, or the cosmic, divine Free-soul.

To reach a trance or a coma was regarded as the greatest boon; to be excluded from the fellowship of the Maga a terrible misfortune. It is clear that in a given tribe the leading shaman must have exercised great influence; for beside presiding over the ceremonies connected with the ordeal he was the chief of the Maga and as such determined who was to be admitted to the supreme happiness the Maga alone could bestow.

We also begin to understand now why the Gāthās, the poems by Zoroaster which his community so faithfully transmitted through the centuries, have presented so great difficulties to the scholars who have hitherto tried to fathom their meaning. If the Gāthās are crazy mutterings shouted by a senseless man in a hemp-induced stupor, it is pointless to seek much meaning in them. It was also rather pointless that those who—mistakenly—believed themselves to be following in the footsteps of Zoroaster should have taken so

much trouble to preserve what turns out to be gibberish. As to the scholars who in modern times studied the Gāthās without finding the true key to them, the less we say about their inept attempts the better.

We come now to an intricate problem: the religious development which Zoroaster underwent. To understand Nyberg's position, it is necessary to make a few general remarks. One of the chief problems that confront the student of the Zoroastrian religion is the relation to each other of several types of religious belief that appear to have coalesced in Zoroastrianism (I am using this term only of the later form of religion). As a rule it is assumed that there were two, or at the most three, religions involved; we can pass by those extremists who operate with larger numbers, in some cases far larger numbers.

The most important form of religion involved is that represented by Zoroaster himself; he may have originated it; or he may have inherited it; or he may have inherited it in part and added to it on his own. The chief points in Zoroaster's religion are these: belief in one God whose name is Ahura Mazdāh; belief in an anti-divine force led by Anra Mainyu, the 'Evil Spirit'; the belief that the acts of mankind exercised great influence on the outcome of the incessant struggle between God and the Evil Spirit, resulting in the attribution to Man of a unique position as the arbiter between Good and Evil; and finally, the association with God of a number of so-called Amāša Spāntas, on whose function scholars always have disagreed and probably always will disagree; some regard them as aspects of God (that is also my view); according to Nyberg they are social collectives representing the Tribe in its various aspects.

The second chief ingredient in Zoroastrianism is the comparatively primitive polytheism which the Iranians had inherited from the remote past, from the time when their forbears were still in contact with the tribes, later known as Indo-Aryans, that immigrated into India. This primitive religion existed before and after Zoroaster; it still flourished centuries after the destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander. There were many gods and goddesses: Mithra, Anāhita, Vərəθrayna, Tištrya, and so on; there were animal sacrifices on a lavish scale; an intoxicating drink, Haoma, the Indian Soma, played an important role in the sacrificial ceremonies. No doubt this religion assumed different forms in the

different provinces at different times; the points of divergence have been stressed, in my view exaggerated, by several students; they need not concern us here.

The third form of religion involved is one about which we know very little, the religion of the Magi. It seems to have exhausted itself in a narrow-minded ritual; purification rites, particularly in connexion with dead bodies, characterize it. Some regard Magism as a remnant of the autochthonous religion which the Iranians found existing in Media and elsewhere when they entered the country as conquerors, and which they gradually absorbed.

Now it is evident that there is a great gulf between the primitive polytheism and the religion represented by Zoroaster. Indeed—on this point there is unanimity—Zoroaster attacks the polytheists in his poems, and does it in terms that leave us in no doubt about his views. Nevertheless, in the Zoroastrianism we find the polytheism inextricably mixed with Zoroaster's own religion. And the merging of the two forms, which apparently also swallowed up the third, must have taken place at a fairly early date, by 400 B.C. at the very latest. How did it come about that these two incompatibles combined in a harmonious association which was solid enough to endure until the present day? To find a satisfactory answer to this question is one of the chief tasks before the students of Zoroastrianism. The answer usually given is that the merger was due to the integration of the Iranian provinces that was brought about by the Persian Empire; that it was deliberately encouraged or promoted by the Persian government.

These few observations will be sufficient, I hope, to indicate the nature of the problem by which we are confronted, so that I can now proceed to explain the solution at which Professor Nyberg has arrived. According to Nyberg, the religion which, together with the medicinemanship, Zoroaster had inherited from his forefathers, resembled the later Zervanism in certain points, especially in its theology in the narrow sense: Ahura Mazdāh here occupies the position which Zervan, the god of Time, held in Zervanism. Ahura Mazdāh is a *Deus otiosus*; he has set the world in motion, but now keeps aloof from it; its management is left to two contrasting and contending powers, the Good Spirit and the Evil Spirit. In Zervanism Zervan creates Ahura Mazdāh and the Evil Spirit and then takes no further part in the affairs of the world. In his aloofness Zoroaster's Ahura Mazdāh, as seen by Nyberg, reminds one of the

shadowy gods of Gnostic systems, who are known as 'The Nameless God' or 'The Stranger'.

This is the central point in the religion into which Zoroaster was born. He would no doubt have transmitted it unchanged to succeeding generations, had not exterior events compelled him to search his heart and reformulate his creed. The event that produced a revolution in his mind was missionary activity by primitive polytheists, by that group which put the God Mithra into the foreground. The propagandists of Mithraism, with their animal sacrifices and nocturnal haoma orgies, exercised an unholy fascination upon the simple, unsophisticated members of Zoroaster's community. The number of those who attended the Maga to spend their days in a peaceful coma grew less and less; the situation worsened from day to day. Zoroaster held stoutly to his ancient religion at the beginning, but soon his mind was affected by doubts. 'This is the 'great crisis' in his life.

In his perplexity he turned to his God: Ahura Mazdāh heard his prayer: he received a revelation. In a vision he saw that his earlier theology had been wrong: Ahura Mazdāh, in truth, was not the God who keeps aloof from the world, the God that had created both the Good and the Evil Spirits. No, Ahura Mazdāh was an active God, who guided the good, who was ever ready to stretch out a helping hand to those who fought for Truth. He had not created the Evil Spirit: the Evil Spirit was independent, hostile to him and all his creatures, equal or almost equal in power. In short, while he had been a Zervanist before, Zoroaster now became a strict Dualist, the author of that dualism that has characterized Zoroastrianism through the ages.

Armed with his new theology Zoroaster turned to the attack. However, while he had been able to do very little against the lusty Mithraists before, his sudden change of front did not improve matters. One can easily imagine that the few faithful friends that were ready to stand by him now despaired and turned away. At any rate he had to leave his tribe, reviled by his enemies, abandoned by his friends. The great crisis in Zoroaster's life—if I may use words I used once before—can be summed up in four words: alcohol prevailed over hemp.

He found refuge in another tribe whose chief, one Vištāspa, welcomed him with open arms. Geographically, his move was from the Oxus to the Jaxartes—we had seen that in Herzfeld's view the

journey was from Rayā to Tūs. Vištāspa's tribe had originally observed religious customs similar to those current in Zoroaster's home country. Yet some time before Zoroaster's arrival this tribe, too, had become converted to Mithraism. Nevertheless, Vištāspa's tribe proves more receptive than his own to Zoroaster's persuasive words, and Vištāspa himself soon experiences the happiness of ecstasy on the newly established Maga. However, there is a considerable change in Zoroaster's attitude. He no longer fulminates against the wicked Mithraists. His earlier lack of success has made him more cautious in his dealings with them. He is ready to compromise. We might say: he has become a realist. He begins to make advances to the Mithraists, he uses bits of their terminology, he makes little concessions here and there. It was only by proceeding in this worldly-wise fashion that he succeeded in establishing himself in Vištāspa's tribe at all. And, fortunately for him, his new friends were still lukewarm in their Mithraism, were equally ready to make compromises. They accepted Zoroaster as their spiritual leader, they accepted Ahura Mazdāh, the dualism, the Aməša Spəntas, the Maga and all that went with it. And Zoroaster accepted Mithra and Anāhita and other constituents of Mithraism in its local form. He even admitted the haoma against which he had inveighed shortly before; but to relieve his conscience, he insisted on a radical change in the ingredients: in future haoma was to consist chiefly of water, milk, and plant-juice.

Thus Zoroaster, none other, became the founder of the composite Zoroastrianism, which other students attribute to later development. How far Zoroaster went in absorbing Mithraist elements is not very clear from Nyberg's book. At any rate, *he* began that process of uniting and combining which was continued after him by his disciples.

In concluding this brief description of Nyberg's theories I hope I have given a fairly accurate idea of the chief points in which he differs from earlier interpreters of Zoroaster. My description is necessarily selective, and the selection is in some respects coloured by personal views; others may regard other matters as of greater importance.¹ The points I have stressed are those on which I shall make a few remarks in these lectures.

¹ I pass by in silence such interesting matters as the 'Begiessung' of the pastures with cow urine (Nyberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 sqq.), an activity which the followers of Zoroaster, to believe Nyberg, apparently considered necessary and desirable.

Any student who contemplates the figures of Zoroaster drawn by Herzfeld on the one hand, by Nyberg on the other, will be filled with perplexity. How is it possible, one is bound to ask, that two scholars of renown who work with precisely the same material, use exactly the same sources, arrive at results that are diametrically opposed to each other? Here is Herzfeld's Zoroaster: a backstairs politician, an exiled nobleman who goes to the races when not engaged in malicious gossip. There is Nyberg's Zoroaster: a prehistoric man, a drunken witch-doctor muttering gibberish on his ludicrous Maga. There is comfort in the thought that if the one is right the other must be absurdly wrong; there is no middle way. There is more comfort in the possibility that both may be wrong.

It must be borne in mind that the theories advanced by Herzfeld and Nyberg are in opposition not only to each other, but also to the common opinion on Zoroaster, the opinion gradually developed by scholars during the last one hundred and fifty years. At least I think it is permissible to talk of a common opinion; for even though there was always a great deal of divergence of views, nevertheless, there had emerged commonly accepted notions on many essential points. One hesitates to abandon this common opinion in favour of theories that are as strongly contested as Nyberg's and Herzfeld's are. At the beginning of this lecture I pointed out that Nyberg had strongly criticized Herzfeld's ideas, and Herzfeld even more strongly Nyberg's views. It is noteworthy and significant that their mutual criticism carries conviction nearly throughout, while the exposition of the views they favour leaves the student filled with doubt and misgiving.

Although at first glance the theories presented by Nyberg and Herzfeld appear to be in contrast with each other, when one looks deeper one finds that nevertheless there are certain features in which they share. It is perhaps not accidental that the points that are common to them are also those that provoke the liveliest objection; the remainder of this lecture will be devoted to their enumeration.

Firstly, as I mentioned just now, they are at one in the dim view they take of the labours of their predecessors in Zoroastrian studies. Their attitude oscillates between the patronizing and the downright contemptuous. For example, Nyberg sums up the common opinion on Zoroaster in these words: 'the picture of a progressive

¹ Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

country parson with an interest in agrarian reforms—nicely formulated but scarcely an accurate description.

Secondly, both authors are certain in their minds that they have understood Zoroaster correctly, and tell us so frequently. It is pleasant to find this conviction in the midst of a maze of uncertainty. They would probably regard it as more accurate to describe their opinions as plain facts than as hypotheses.

Thirdly, both scholars have built their theories largely on the re-interpretation of words and to some extent on the emendation of passages in the Avesta. The second feature, emendation, is not so prominent in Nyberg's work, but very much so in Herzfeld's writings. Indeed, Herzfeld, when dealing with obscure passages, was fond of declaring: this line *must* mean so-and-so; therefore, it does mean so-and-so; if grammar does not agree with it, well, so much the worse for grammar.

Of far greater importance is the re-interpretation of words. Inevitably, there is a large number of words in the Avesta whose meanings are unknown, and a further large number whose meanings are imperfectly known; and such unknown or imperfectly known words are particularly numerous in the Gāthās. Then there are the words whose meaning is not in doubt; but even they, as all words, have a certain range of meaning, and from that range one can select an eccentric meaning. Now if one attributes an entirely arbitrary set of meanings to the unknown words, in such a way that this set of meanings is consistent within itself and conforms to a preconceived notion of the contents of the Gāthās, and if one proceeds to select suitable extreme meanings for the known words, one can translate the Gāthās (or for that matter any ancient text that carries a sufficient number of unknown words) in any way one likes; one can turn them into a philosophical treatise or a political note-book, a lawgiver's code or a soothsayer's utterance. Take a word that properly means 'house' or 'dwelling': one can say 'in the Gāthās this word always designates the residence of the royal family', or one can say 'in the Gāthās this word regularly denotes the felt-hut in which the shaman enters into a coma', and so on, and by translating accordingly one can give the sense of these ancient verses a twist in any direction one may have in mind.

This 'method' was first introduced into this subject by Hertel. He noticed what everybody else had noticed before him, namely, that the ancient Iranians had the highest regard for Fire and Light.

Proceeding from this correct observation he soon conceived the notion that they had had regard for Fire and Light only, and set out to translate the Avesta in conformity with his ideas. He proved to his satisfaction that almost every word in the Avesta meant 'light' or 'bright' or 'fiery' or the like. It is difficult to preserve one's gravity when one reads his translations, which happily have not been taken seriously by most students. That his method should have been revived, in modified forms, by Herzfeld and Nyberg is a matter for regret. It is due to its application that on the one hand harmless words, such as *x'afna* 'sleep', are given a restricted and specialized meaning, such as 'trance', suitable to a shamanist environment, and that on the other hand the Gāthās turn out to be crowded with the technical terms of racing, as is fitting for the poems of an idle gentleman.

The *fourth* point common to the two scholars is their tendency to project the cultural phenomena of a later age into the more distant past. Thus Herzfeld seeks to elucidate events in the circle around his Zoroaster by constant reference to the happenings at the court of the Abbaside Caliphs, at the court of a Ma'mūn or a Mutawakkil; yet there is a world of difference between the cultural levels of these two epochs: so much has happened in between, the Persian Empire, Macedonians and Greeks, Parthians, Sassanians, and Islam, that immediate comparison is misleading rather than helpful. Similarly, Nyberg calls on the Dancing Dervishes of fairly recent times to lend support to his dancing and shrieking Zoroaster; indeed, his Zoroaster is modelled, in many respects, on the Muslim Dervishes. He anticipates our objection and surmises that the customs of those Dervishes may have had their origin in the shamanist Zoroastrianism; thus the Dervish customs are to help explain Zoroaster as a shaman, and the shamanist Zoroaster serves to explain the Dervish customs.

There is another matter which could be mentioned here. It seems to me that Nyberg's opinion on Zoroaster has been influenced in yet another way by his extensive knowledge of Islam, influenced in particular by the figure of Mohammed; Mohammed, that is to say, as seen by Western scholars. There is an implicit resemblance:

- (a) Mohammed, who had hallucinations and visions owing to some nervous disorder; some unkind spirits even used to say he was an epileptic—Zoroaster, who had visions through the

physical and mental collapse attending shamanist practices; perhaps he was even a drug-addict.

- (b) Mohammed, the fervent preacher of the end of the world, who was rejected by his people and compelled to leave Mecca in danger of his life—Zoroaster, precisely the same, if we put 'home-tribe' instead of Mecca.
- (c) Mohammed, after the Hijrah, in al-Medinah, turning from a prophet into a politician—Zoroaster, after his flight, in Vištāspa's tribe, turning from a prophet into a religious politician.

However, there is genuine resemblance in one point only: both prophets leave their own country in distress and become honoured in their place of refuge; which merely illustrates what has been said on the point in the Gospels.

The *fifth* point is the claim that the Zoroastrians, who believed themselves the true disciples of Zoroaster, were wrong in this belief, that in fact they did not understand Zoroaster at all. It is plain that both Nyberg and Herzfeld are bound to make this claim; for the view they take of Zoroaster is basically different from the view held by the Zoroastrians through the ages. As to Herzfeld's Zoroaster, it is sufficient to point out that the Zoroastrians regarded their prophet as a prophet, not as a politician. And as regards Nyberg's Zoroaster, it is well known how deeply the Zoroastrians, at all times, abhorred such obscure practices as Nyberg attributes to their founder. Indeed, Nyberg himself admits that even in the later parts of the Avesta such practices are roundly condemned, and that the Maga, on which his Zoroaster performed, is treated with scant respect. One can add that this lack of appreciation went so far that in Sassanian times the word 'Mag(a)' could be used for nothing more dignified than a lavatory.¹ It is, of course, admitted that the faithful of any religion are apt to see their founder through rose coloured spectacles, and to fail to understand him properly, in true historical perspective; but there are degrees of misunderstanding. Moreover, in no point are religions more conservative than in the forms of service and ritual observances; and of all religions known Zoroastrianism is perhaps the most conservative.

And so I come to the *sixth* and last point: the inadequacy of the figures drawn by Herzfeld and Nyberg to the place of Zoroaster in history. Whatever Zoroaster was, at any rate he was the founder

¹ e.g. *Yōist-i Frydn*, iii. 69.

of one of the great religions of the world. A great nation revered him as its prophet. Long after the Iranians had forgotten Cyrus and Darius and all their crowd, they continued to accord nearly divine honours to Zoroaster. Herzfeld's Zoroaster is manifestly insufficient: one does not see why this slightly shady politician, who had nothing in particular to his credit, should have been remembered at all. Nyberg at least admits Zoroaster to the dignity of prophet; but his ecstatic witch-doctor is not greatly distinguished from the multitude of other ecstatic witch-doctors that, one in each generation, interceded with the spirits for their fellow tribesmen, in each tribe all over northern Asia. His one distinction, it seems, is that he admitted not merely polytheists, but polytheism into his Church. That would have been treason—a compromise where no compromise can be allowed. It would have earned him contempt and derision instead of reverence and devotion.

It is said that Mohammed, driven to despair by the unbelievers, faltered one day and emitted a revelation which accorded sanctity to three goddesses whom the idolators worshipped. Mohammed repented at once of his momentary weakness and proclaimed his error on the next day. Thus he regained the respect of his friends and enemies. Had he persisted in this mistake, Islam would have died before it was born. That is exactly what would have happened to Zoroaster's religion, had Zoroaster been weak enough to adopt Mithra or any such divinity. His memory would not have survived the next generation.

SECOND LECTURE

THE sources for the history and the history of culture in Iran are not uniformly satisfactory. Going back beyond the conquest of Persia by the Arabs in the seventh century, we find ourselves well informed about the Sassanian period, i.e. from the third century of our era onwards. We are well acquainted with the social history of that time, with the religions, with the material culture, with almost any side of human activity. There is a multitude of written documents, in Iranian as well as other languages, in Syriac, Armenian, and Greek; in addition, many books of that period were later translated into Arabic and so were preserved, as a whole or in extracts, to the present day.

Before the Sassanian epoch, in the five hundred years of Greek and Parthian rule from 300 B.C. to A.D. 200, there is a dark period. In spite of the accession of fresh material through excavations carried out in the last few decades, our information remains scanty; in comparison with our knowledge of the Sassanian times it is negligible. Here we deplore chiefly the nearly total absence of material written in the indigenous languages: a couple of documents in Parthian, an inscription in Parthian from the end of the period, a few coin legends, a few seal inscriptions—that is almost all. There was a series of interesting and very informative letters in the Sogdian language which were ascribed to the early part of the second century of our era; but recently it had to be shown that in fact they were two hundred years later than it had been thought.¹ For the lack of first-hand material we feel scarcely compensated by the two Zoroastrian books that must have been composed in that period: the Vendidad and the Nirangistan, two fragments of a priestly code. Their authors were anxious to preserve the ancient laws of the Magi, which threatened to fall into desuetude, and at the same time to elaborate them in a spirit of narrowness and bigotry. These books are typical products of priests who find themselves powerless to enforce their authority, as indeed the Magi were under Greek rule. They are so busy with regulations which are often fictitious and sometimes absurd that they throw nearly no

¹ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xii (1948), pp. 601-15.

light on contemporary reality, except, of course, on the authors' state of mind. So we have to rely, for this period, almost entirely on Greek sources, supplemented by Roman and Babylonian material. Even though some of the Greek material is first-hand and first-class, the sum-total of the evidence is insufficient to give us a tolerably clear picture of those five hundred years.

We are far better off for the preceding period, the time of the Achaemenian empire down to its conquest by Alexander. Here the indigenous material, from excavations and inscriptions, is more plentiful. The Greek reports are far more comprehensive. Living on the fringe of this gigantic state and constantly threatened by it, the Greeks of necessity saw to it that they kept in touch with what went on in their neighbour's lands. At the close of that time we receive a full-scale view of the whole country, from Asia Minor to the Indian frontier, from the Jaxartes to Baluchistan, through the reports on Alexander's expeditions. Even if we allow for the partiality which inevitably consciously or unconsciously colours all Greek reports, we still can say that we are well informed on that period.

When one approaches a problem of the cultural life of Iran, one does well to call these facts to mind. From the latter part of the sixth century B.C. onwards Iran is not an unknown land. Its inhabitants were constantly under the eyes of foreigners, foreigners, too, who more often than not were not well disposed to the Iranians, if not downright hostile. Any little oddity they observed was noted down eagerly and proclaimed to the world. Any custom that did not conform to Greek ideas was seized on to revile the powerful Persians, especially in the early period when the Greeks had good reason to fear and hate them. And what is the result of scrutinizing the records left by Greeks and other observers? It is this: that the Iranians, all of them, were thoroughly sane people.

Had any such primeval customs as Nyberg ascribes to Zoroaster existed in Iran, anywhere in Iran, we should for certain have heard all about it. The Greeks, of whom it has rightly been said that they had a keen sense for the ridiculous, would never have passed by in silence this witch-doctor or shaman who exposed himself—for payment—to his fellow tribesmen, shrieking animal sounds, foaming at the mouth, in a war-dance that ended up in a grand coma. The ventriloquism that forms an integral part of the shaman's art would also not have remained unnoticed. This figure

of fun would inevitably have become a standard item in the Greek Comedy.

Nyberg does indeed not claim that such customs persisted until the Persian period; for such a claim could not be maintained for a moment. They must therefore have disappeared, conveniently, between the time of Zoroaster and that of Cyrus or Darius, without leaving a trace. Nyberg's assumption that they ever existed is one that I cannot share. There is no evidence in its favour, except, of course, the arbitrary attribution of shamanist meanings to innocent words, which was described in my first lecture: 'trance' to 'sleep', 'mystical union' to 'company', 'companion in mysteries' to 'friend', 'shamanist rites' to 'action', and so forth.

Shamanism is a primitive type of religion characteristic of culturally backward tribes in northern Asia and Europe, of the Indians of northern America, Esquimaux, and others. Its existence among Iranians and Indo-Aryans has never been demonstrated. Even the ancestors common to the Iranians and Indo-Aryans possessed a religion that, if there is such a thing as progress in religious beliefs, had progressed considerably beyond the stage associated with shamanist practices. Zoroaster and his tribe must therefore have regressed to a level long surpassed by their fellows. Those who wish to follow Nyberg will have to convince us that a part of the Iranian tribes relapsed from the Indo-Iranian religion into beliefs characteristic of the childhood of humanity, but that these tribes recovered their good sense sufficiently quickly to escape all observation in the time of the Persian Empire.

I said a little while ago that, to go by Greek and other reports, the Iranians, from their first appearance in history, were eminently sane people. There are, however, a few passages in Greek books which, to a casual reader, may seem to run counter to this judgement—passages which attribute monstrous customs to some of the Iranian tribes. So monstrous, indeed, that one might be driven to say that these people must have been a little peculiar, to say the least. Those who write on the ancient Iranian religion are very fond of these rare passages and never fail to quote them. Among them there is one, on the customs of the ancient Bactrians, that surpasses all others in the attribution of magnificent savagery; it has been reproduced often, I think once too often. I have long been looking for a chance to demonstrate its wickedness.

In discussing the mode of exposing the dead to be devoured by

wild beasts, Nyberg has this sentence:¹ *Strabo attests this custom for Bactria in a very cruel form, the sick and decrepit being exposed even before death, and also for the Massagetæ, while Herodotus reports that the latter buried those who died of illness.*

'Strabo attests'—this statement is already misleading. It suggests that Strabo, contemporary with the Emperor Augustus, witnessed the Bactrian habit himself. In fact, Strabo merely quoted an earlier author, and, moreover, quoted him with evident disapproval. This author was Onesicritus, one of Alexander's officers. The responsibility for the veracity of the story thus rests solely on Onesicritus, and the story, of course, refers to his time, not to the time of Strabo. Let us hear what Strabo does say:

Both the Sogdians and the Bactrians were not, in ancient times, much different from nomads in their manner of living and their customs, although those of the Bactrians were a little more civilized. Onesicritus, however, does not tell very nice things of these either: namely, that those who break down by reason of old age or sickness are thrown alive to dogs reared and kept for the purpose and called *ἐνταφιασται* 'undertakers' in the native language; that within the walls the capital city, Baktra, was for the greater part littered with human bones, while the outside proved clean; and that Alexander abolished the custom.²

Anyone who is even slightly acquainted with the history of Iran has only to consider the implications of this tale to realize that it is utter nonsense. When Onesicritus visited Bactria—if he ever did—that province had been an integral part of the Persian Empire for over two hundred years. The Persian Empire was in many respects not so very different from a modern state. It had a centralized administration to which the provincial governors had to submit written reports; a complicated system of taxes and a cadastral survey; regular inspection of the provinces by high officials to ensure that the policy laid down by the central government was carried out; a common system of writing, a common administrative language; a unified coinage; a network of admirable highroads; a highly developed judiciary; police and intelligence officers; a postal service; a primitive telegraph.

Onesicritus pretends to have made his curious observations not in an out-of-the-way corner of this state, but in the capital of a province, the seat of the local government, which almost wholly consisted of administrative offices, residences for the staff, from the

¹ Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

² Strabo, xi. 11. 3, p. 517.

governor down, and military barracks. The leading members of this community were no doubt Persians, while most of the clerks probably came from Babylonia or Mesopotamia. If we are to follow Onesicritus, we have to visualize these officials wading their way to their offices through a litter of human bones and, when they felt a cold coming on, looking anxiously over their shoulders at the terrible undertaker dogs, lest they might mistake their flushed appearance for a serious illness and take appropriate action. For two hundred years they bore up under the strain without stopping to think whether the custom was really necessary, without ever making so much as a murmur of protest when they were assigned a post in dangerous Bactra: until, at last! glorious Alexander came, saw, and did, once again, what no one else was capable of doing.

If this fairy tale had been related by one accounted as the most reliable of authorities, we should still be compelled to reject it and rather begin to look askance at other statements emanating from the same source. As it is, Onesicritus has no authority at all. He is responsible for many fancy stories: the meeting between Alexander and the Queen of the Amazons, the hippopotami in India, snakes forty and seventy yards long kept by an Indian king, the inscription in the Greek language but Persian script on the tomb of Cyrus, and so on. Already in ancient times serious authors, e.g. Plutarch and Arrian, made fun of him; and Strabo himself described him as 'the captain-in-chief of incredible stories rather than of Alexander's (ships)'. He *had* been a sea captain, and as such had seen honourable service in Alexander's navy. When, in his dotage, he wrote his memoirs, he embroidered and embellished his adventures to make them more interesting; he was neither the first nor the last ancient mariner to love startling his audience. Nowadays the question discussed by historians is whether he was an out-and-out liar or a harmless *romancier*; the answer is not of much importance: the point is that he should not be believed.

Dr. Tarn, who, of course, also rejects the story about the Bactrian dogs, thinks it may all the same have a weak basis in reality and suggests that Onesicritus may have met with, and not understood, a word translated to him as *ἐνραφιασται*, and made up a story out of this word, the pariah dogs, and his own cynic principles.² If it is really necessary to find an explanation for the *ἐνραφιασται*, the

¹ Cf. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, ii. 35.

² W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, pp. 115 sq.

following may serve. Perhaps one night Onesicritus saw, at a distance, a Persian badger (*Meles canescens*), and, upon asking what it was, was told by his Persian companions that it was 'a kind of dog' named 'grave-digger'; for the Persians had their own peculiar zoological categories, and in the genus 'dog' they included a weird variety of animals: foxes, beavers, hedgehogs, and others. In modern Persian the badger is called *gūrkan*, 'grave-digger', which could suitably be translated as *ἐνταφιαστής*; the ancient term is not known. As the name indicates, the badger has had the reputation of digging up and devouring corpses in recent times;¹ this accusation may well have been made against it a long while ago.

So much for Onesicritus and his *ἐνταφιασταί*. In the sentence I quoted above Nyberg further stated that Strabo had 'attested' similar customs also for the Massagetae. Here again Strabo is not the witness. In his description of the Massagetae he merely copied an ancient report, one that had already been used by Herodotus; it is usually, no doubt correctly, attributed to Hecataios of Miletus. His occasion for writing on the Massagetae was their fight against Cyrus, who—it is said—fell in a battle with these ferocious nomads of the steppes around Lake Aral. No one ever knew anything worth mentioning about them; no one can say whether even their war with Cyrus is historical. So when we are told that they sacrificed the older members of their community at a solemn ceremony; offered up some cattle at the same time; boiled the flesh of both victims together and feasted on it; accounted those who thus ended their days the most fortunate; and bewailed the ill fortune of those who, dying of disease, escaped the happiness of being eaten by their loving children—we should be wise not to regard such and similar things as strictly historical facts: for Hecataios certainly did not visit the Massagetae and observe their horrid practices.²

¹ W. T. Blanford, *Zoology* (= *Eastern Persia*, vol. ii), p. 46.

² The problem of the Massagetae has been confused rather than elucidated by modern writers. Because Herodotus and Strabo tell us that the Massagetae lived chiefly on fish, Marquart explained their name as 'fish-eaters'. Nyberg, however, states that Herodotus confirms Marquart's etymology (*ibid.*, p. 252); this is putting the cart before the horse. Christensen proposed a new etymology: 'the great Sakas'. With its help Dr. Tarn has divided the Massagetae into 'various subject races, including primitive "fish-eaters" in the swamps' and 'their Saka overlords'—eating his cake and having it (*Greeks in Bactria*, p. 81). I would say that the 'fish-eaters' should go out altogether. The wording in Herodotus (i. 216), ἀπὸ κτενέων (ῥαῖων καὶ ἰχθύων), shows that this is merely an etymology of the name, perpetrated by Hecataios' Persian or Median informant, who thought of OIr. *mariya* 'fish' and *gaibh* (early pronounced *gēbā*), precisely the equivalent

It is well known that the ascription of displeasing customs of this type to nations about which nobody knew anything is a standard feature of Greek historiography. The peoples with whom the Greeks were acquainted were barbarians: those who lived beyond the barbarians and of whom they knew merely the name were inevitably cannibals or worse.

We have now dealt with two specimens of the atrocity stories that Greeks invented about the Iranians; though it is not even certain that the Massagetae were Iranians. There are a few more stories of this sort; it would be tedious to enumerate them: none of them stands up to criticism of the mildest kind. If, however, one takes all such fancy tales for gospel truth and adds them up, one is bound to gain a picture of the Iranians that is far removed from reality. In such a picture, a caricature of the truth, even shamanism will fit in effortlessly; for why should not those who boiled and ate their parents have prostituted themselves on a Maga?

As we had to touch on questions of historical criticism, it may be convenient to fit in here a few remarks on the historical Zoroaster as represented by Herzfeld. There is no doubt that the ultimate basis of Herzfeld's theories is the presumed identity of Vištāspa, the father of Darius, with Vištāspa, the protector of Zoroaster. Their identity was first assumed by Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth century A.D., but passed unnoticed by Chares of Mytilene, one of Alexander's officials and a well-informed author, who took down an elaborate popular story about Vištāspa, the protector of Zoroaster, without mentioning the other Vištāspa or confusing the two in any way: from which one is tempted to infer that the identity was unknown to his Persian informants, as early as the fourth century B.C. In modern times the identity has been asserted by various scholars and lately elaborated by Hertel and Herzfeld. One objection has always been raised: the difference in the genealogies of the two personalities.¹ On the one hand: the father of Darius, the *xšāyathiya* Vištāspa, son of Aršāma, of the Achaemenid family; on the other: the father of Spəntōšāta, the *kavi* Vištāspa, son of Aurvašpa, of the Naotara family. All attempts at overcoming this objection have failed. One may perhaps interpret away one

of *xšāyēs*. This is, of course, popular etymology; the story about the fish-eating came in its train. The *y* in the name, in place of the expected *x*, renders Christensen's etymology unacceptable.

¹ Cf. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 357 sq.

point of difference and still expect to be believed; but one cannot interpret away everything and command conviction. For example, we are told that Darius' original name was Spantōdāta and that he took the name of Darius as 'throne-name' when he became king. We might credit this removal of the name of Vištāspa's son, even though we should regret the absence of any evidence pointing to it; but we shall not believe even that when we find that equally artificial devices are needed to do away with the name of Vištāspa's father as well and with all other points of difference. Indeed it is impossible to accept the whole theory, unless one were to assume that all sources, however different in origin and tendency, from the Avesta to the inscriptions of Darius and the Greek historians, were inspired by the same brand of obscurantism, that all were somehow co-operating to bring about the discomfiture of the students of history.

There is no point in pursuing this matter any farther; it has been argued often enough. However, we have now been presented with a new hypothesis, which is to bolster up the discredited theory of the identity of the two Vištāspas. It may be worth while to make a few observations on this new hypothesis, which I have sketched in my first lecture. Its central point is the assumption that Zoroaster was of royal birth, a grandson of Astyages, the last Median king whom Cyrus deposed.

This new hypothesis has only one merit: that it is new and unexpected. There is a strong *a priori* ground against it. In almost all religions we find a tendency to provide the founders with a noble lineage. However humble their origin in brutal fact, it had to be traced, wherever at all possible, to a king of the distant past, the more distant the better, to silence critical spirits. This tendency was not alien to Zoroastrianism. In the Avesta, even its latest parts, Zoroaster has as yet no royal ancestors; but in the Pahlavi books the expected genealogical tree appears, connecting Zoroaster with Manuščihr (a mythical king) in the fourteenth generation, a comfortable distance. If we were to follow Herzfeld, we should be confronted with the singular circumstance that although Zoroaster had been not merely of royal ancestry, but even the legitimate heir to the Iranian throne, yet all sources, indigenous or foreign, had in unison suppressed his true origin, which one would have expected his followers at least to proclaim from the house-tops. This runs counter to all historical experience. Again we find our sources

affected by that strange and deplorable obscurantism to which I have referred.

One can also put it in this way: even if the Zoroastrian books through the ages had proclaimed, unanimously, that Zoroaster had been not only a prophet but also the rightful successor to the kingship, we should not believe one word of it. We should shrug our shoulders and say: merely another example of the manner in which the founders of religions are exalted by the faithful. As it is, no claim to such noble ancestry has ever been put forward either by Zoroastrians or by anybody else; therefore, it has no basis in fact.

Let us see now on what the new hypothesis does base itself. It is a story told by Ctesias; it is unconfirmed by any other authority. Astyages, Ctesias said, had no son. He gave his only daughter, Amytis, in marriage to Spitamas, a Median nobleman, and promised him the succession. Two sons were born to Amytis, Spitakes and Megabernes. Later, when Cyrus overthrew Astyages, he killed Spitamas and took Amytis as his wife,¹ to secure a pretence of legitimacy. Amytis then became the mother of the two sons of Cyrus, Cambyses² and Bardiya (whom Ctesias wrongly calls Tanyoxarkes). At the end of his reign Cyrus was involved in a war against the Derbikes (whom Ctesias wrongly localized on the Indian border while in fact they lived in the neighbourhood of Hyrcania). In the fight Cyrus received a mortal wound. On his death-bed he appointed Cambyses as his successor and made Bardiya/Tanyoxarkes Viceroy of Bactria and other provinces; but he did not forget his two stepsons: to Spitakes he gave the satrapy over the newly conquered Derbikes and to Megabernes a similar post.

So far Ctesias. To the uninitiated it will not immediately be clear what this story has to do with Zoroaster. Its concealed pertinence has now been uncovered. We know that Zoroaster belonged to the Spitamid family. He is called Spitama in the *Avesta*, and so are his close relatives. Now there is a Spitamas in Ctesias' tale: should he not have been a member of Zoroaster's family? At first Herzfeld wavered:³ might not Zoroaster himself have been the same as Spitamas, the son-in-law of Astyages? In the outcome he

¹ Astyages' daughter was the mother of Cyrus according to Herodotus (i. 75, 91, 107-8).

² Herodotus (ii. 1; iii. 2-3) emphatically states that the mother of Cambyses was an Achaemenian princess, Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes.

³ Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.* i. 50 sq.

abandoned this idea. Perhaps it would have been inconvenient to let Zoroaster find an untimely death at the hand of Cyrus in 550 B.C. or close to that date—that would have badly tangled the web woven around Zoroaster, Vištāspa, and Darius; Zoroaster would not have been available, thirty years later, to counsel his bosom-friend Darius to proceed to the murder of Gaumāta.

Possibly in view of such obstacles Herzfeld decided to cast Spitakes for the role of Zoroaster. Spitakes is explained as a diminutive of Spitama; hence it should mean 'the little Spitama'. One regrets to see here again that the genealogies so little resemble each other. They do not coincide in a single name. On the one hand: Spitakes, son of Spitamas and Amytis, on the other: Zaratūštra, son of Pourušaspa and Duγdōvā. The differences have to be explained away as they were explained away in the case of Vištāspa; but in that case there was at least one genuine coincidence; here nothing agrees. In this way we could as well identify Zoroaster with Homer or with Buddha or with anybody else.

There is only one point that requires explanation: the use of the name of Spitamas by Ctesias; for this is certainly an uncommon name, and it is associated with Zoroaster's family. The explanation becomes obvious as soon as one considers the nature of the book that Ctesias wrote. He composed it after 398 B.C. on his return from the Persian capital where he had spent long years as court physician. His book is important enough for the events of his own time, but almost without any value for the earlier period. For this period he relied not so much on information he could have collected in Persia as rather on Herodotus supplemented by his imagination. He had no understanding of history, which appeared to him as an endless succession of court intrigues; the βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι on which he pretended to base himself have long been recognized in their true nature: as harem gossip.

This author, whom Herzfeld treated as a Father of History, had a low reputation even in antiquity. Time has not improved it. Modern historians, almost without exception, put little or no store by what he has to say; Marquart, for example, talked of him as the Father of Romances, which is appropriate. One of his tricks is to get all his names wrong, and another, to use names that were current in his own time in his stories of antiquity. That is why the name of Spitamas figures in his tale of Astyages and Cyrus. In his time the name of Zoroaster, the Spitama, was known to

everyone in Persia; in honour of the prophet people chose the name 'Spitama' for their children.¹ As regards the tale itself, its romantic hue is visible plainly enough to proclaim its inventor.

Herzfeld's work is filled with identifications of names and persons appearing on the one hand in the Avesta, on the other in the historical records of the early Achaemenid epoch, identifications which carry as much conviction as does the identification of Zoroaster with Spitakes, the governor of the Derbikes. It would be a lengthy business to discuss all of them. Instead of doing that, I will now give a representative specimen, with full details, so that every reader can judge for himself whether the method pursued by Herzfeld is likely to lead to lasting results.

'Among the brothers and cousins of Vištāspa', Herzfeld wrote,² 'is one Ātarhvarnah.' The facts are these: in the Farvardīn Yašt, a litany commemorating, in the form of a long list, the names of members of the early Zoroastrian community, one Ātərəx'arənah is mentioned. No details are given of his origin or relationship. To say that he was a brother or cousin of Vištāspa's is mere presumption. It seems to be founded on the consideration that names of members of Vištāspa's family are mentioned in proximity, although not in close proximity, to the name of Ātərəx'arənah; the inference is scarcely admissible. In truth, the list appears to have been arranged with regard to resemblance in names rather than with regard to the relationship of their bearers. Thus Ātərəx'arənah stands in an enumeration of eight names with *ātərə-* 'fire' as the first part of compounds: Ātərəvanu, Ātərəpāta, Ātərədāta, Ātərəciθra, Ātərəx'arənah, Ātərəsavah, Ātərəzantu, Ātərədaiñhu; incidentally, there are no other names of this type (a very common type) elsewhere in the long list.

One of the most important discoveries made by Herzfeld was his find of the household archives of the early Achaemenian rulers, some thirty thousand tablets and fragments of tablets, most of them written in Elamite, a few in Aramaic. In one of the Elamite tablets, dated in the year 16 of Darius, one Par-na-k-ka orders a *ke-so-pat-ti-i* to slaughter a hundred sheep; *ke-so-pat-ti-i* is said to represent an unattested Persian word *gēvūpatiš* and mean 'chief of the

¹ Amytis and Spitamas in the time of Artaxerxes I: Ctesias § 39 (§ 70 ed. Gilmore) where the two names are in juxtaposition. Cf. further Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 48, on a Spitama of the time of Ctesias.

² Herzfeld, *op. cit.* i. 38.

archives'¹ (perhaps it is merely a *gaiṭhāpatiṣ* 'shepherd'). The same Par-na-k-ka occurs in another tablet as the son of one Aršāma. Now although Parnaka, in Greek transcription *Φαρνάκης*, and Aršāma were among the commonest names current in ancient Iran (as common as Aḥmad and 'Alī in Muslim times), nevertheless Herzfeld presumed that this Aršāma was the same as Aršāma, the grandfather of Darius, and this Parnaka, therefore, a brother of Vištāspa and uncle of Darius.

If we conceded that the *Ātərəxʾarənah* of the Farvardīn Yašt was a brother or cousin to Vištāspa, the protector of Zoroaster (which we do not), and if we conceded that Parnaka was a brother to Vištāspa, the father of Darius (which we also do not), even then we could not agree to the identification of Parnaka with *Ātərəxʾarənah* which Herzfeld claimed. The first and characteristic half of the Avestan name seems to have disappeared. As always there is an explanation ready to hand (the one is the full name, the other a shortened form), but the reader is scarcely in the mood for further concessions to imagination.

Hertel and Herzfeld have devoted a colossal amount of labour to the comparison of the Avestan nomenclature with the names found in the historical records of the Achaemenian state; in this work they have drawn also on pseudo-historical sources to which one should not attach much value, such as Ctesias. Great ingenuity has been displayed by them, all to prove one thing, and one thing only: that Vištāspa, the protector of Zoroaster, and Vištāspa, the father of Darius, were one and the same person. But the net result is that they have proved the opposite of what they set out to prove. Not a single straight equation has been turned up by them, in spite of the most comprehensive search, not one identification that could stand on its own merits without the need of arduous and cumbersome explanations. Were the basic hypothesis correct, unambiguous equations should have been found easily and in great number. Their total absence, now amply demonstrated by Herzfeld against his will, proves that the two Vištāspas have nothing in common but their name.

Before we can leave the realm of historical questions, there remains a matter that cannot be passed over without some attempt at elucidation. In a way it is also an historical problem. I mean Nyberg's suggestion that Zoroaster drugged himself with hemp.

¹ Ibid.

In order to appreciate how deeply this suggestion must shock those who call themselves Zoroastrians, one has to understand the effects which habitual indulging in hemp produces on the human organism. Schlimmer, an Austrian physician who spent long years in Persia in the second half of the last century, described how he laboured, for three whole days, to bring back to consciousness a man who had been drugged with Indian hemp oil. He then wrote:¹

In spite of these terrible effects, I have never heard of a strictly mortal case; but the repulsive habit of taking the oil of the tops of Indian hemp and the various electuaries made from it, in order to secure a moral calmness which lets one envisage all vicissitudes and miseries of human life in an agreeable light, induces in habitual takers a state of remarkable dullness and indolence, which makes them renounce all human decency and delicacy.

It is well known that in Persia hemp, with all its derivatives, *bang*, *cars*, or *hašīš*, has a particularly bad reputation. A man who is addicted to them is held in universal contempt. I need scarcely remind readers of the story of the *Hašīšīyyīn*, the Assassins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; it is familiar enough. If one reflects on the effects of hemp, the physical, mental, and moral deterioration it brings, the resulting destruction of will-power and stimulation of criminal tendencies, one becomes inclined to reject Nyberg's suggestion without further consideration. Nevertheless, we will briefly review the proofs he offers. They can be summed up under three heads.

Firstly, there is an argument based on what is called 'typological classification'. It proceeds on the assumption that all persons prominent in religious life can be assigned to a certain, small number of types, in the characteristics of which they share. In Nyberg's view, Zoroaster was a typical shaman. We should thus have the following syllogism:

Zoroaster was a shaman—
Some shamans drug themselves—
Therefore Zoroaster drugged himself.

The fallacy is obvious. One cannot say 'all shamans drug themselves'; that would be far from the truth. In any case we do not

¹ J. L. Schlimmer, *Terminologie Médico-Pharmaceutique et Anthropologique Française-Persane* (Teheran 1874), pp. 105-6. Numberless observations of similar trend can be quoted.

admit that Zoroaster was a shaman and would prefer to allow him some measure of individuality.

The second argument is based on a passage in Herodotus. The Scythians of southern Russia, Herodotus said, never washed themselves with water, but took a kind of vapour-bath. To do so they crept into a felt-covered hut (which can be compared to the 'sweat-lodge' of the American Indians), put red-hot stones into it, and threw hemp-seed on the stones: the resulting vapour gave them delirious pleasure, and 'they broke into shouts of joy'. Here we have, at last! the Scythians, reputedly Iranians, intoxicating themselves with hemp. We might now get this syllogism:

The Scythians were Iranians—

The Scythians drugged themselves with hemp—

Therefore, the Iranians drugged themselves with hemp.

This is even less sound than the preceding conclusion. Scarcely anyone nowadays would subscribe to the opinion that *all* the multifarious tribes to which the Greeks vaguely referred as Scythians were Iranians; no doubt there were a few Iranians among them. At any rate, what the Scythians did in southern Russia has no bearing on the customs of the Iranians in Persia or on the Oxus.

The third argument rests on direct statements in Zoroastrian literature. Here we are on safer ground. There is the word *banha* in the Avesta, *mang* in Pahlavi, which, like the Persian word *bang*, means 'hemp' according to Nyberg. In spite of the importance which Zoroaster is said to have attached to hemp, he is silent on it in the Gāthās. However, the Farvardīn Yašt, the list of members of the early Zoroastrian community, mentions a man with the name *Pouru.bangha*, said to mean 'he who possesses much hemp'.¹ The mere existence of such a name indicates, according to Nyberg, that the early Zoroastrians used hemp as a narcotic; others may think that the name, if correctly interpreted, can at the most serve to show that they cultivated hemp, possibly for the purpose for which hemp is cultivated all the world over, i.e. to obtain its fibre. Except in this name, *banha* is mentioned in the Avesta with disapproval throughout. The use of *banha*, as a drug employed in producing miscarriage, is prohibited; a demon is referred to as *banha vibanha*; and in a quaint text Ahura Mazdāh is called *ax^aafna abanha* 'without sleep, without *banha*' or, in Nyberg's translation,

¹ Cf. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 sq.

'without trance, without hemp'. All these passages occur in the Vendidad and so belong to the time when the Zoroastrians showed that strange dislike for all that Zoroaster held dear, which I described in my first lecture.

This is the whole of the Avestan material. There is nothing here to show that Zoroaster so much as knew of the existence of hemp. To come now to the Pahlavi literature, we read in the Bundahishn that Ahura Mazdāh gave a dose of *mang* to the Primordial Bull to kill him painlessly, so that he should escape the slow death which Ahriman had planned for him. Then there is the story of Ardā Virāf, which Nyberg regards as the last reflex of the ancient ecstatic practices.² The book in which it is found is a late product from post-Sassanian times. Ardā Virāf, the most saintly among the Zoroastrians, is selected as messenger to Heaven and Hell to discover the fate of the soul after death. To speed him on the long and dangerous journey he is to be given a drink of wine mixed with *mang*. At first he refuses the poisonous cup; for he does not wish to die. His seven sisters, whose sole support he is, implore him to persist in his refusal; for they know that *mang* is a deadly poison. But it is hoped that God will not accept his sacrifice and will allow his soul to return to the Living. So in the end he allows himself to be persuaded, makes his last will and testament, and performs the last rites as a dying man would do: he drinks the poison and is as dead for seven days and nights, then comes to, miraculously, and tells his anxiously waiting friends what he has seen.

In this story I find no trace of any ecstatic practices. The point is that *mang* was a deadly poison: Ardā Virāf returned to life in spite of having taken a poison that ordinarily brought certain death; that he survived was a miracle. This view is confirmed by the story in the Bundahishn: the Primordial Bull died after swallowing *mang*; he did not gambol and frisk about in ecstasy. Zoroaster would have been ill-advised, had he tried to make a habit of taking *mang*; after the first attempt he would have been no longer in a position to compose any Gāthās. Incidentally, the two Pahlavi passages show clearly enough that *mang*, whatever it was, was not hemp; for even a large overdose of the worst derivative of hemp does not kill.³

We have now reviewed the whole of the evidence that Nyberg

¹ Nyberg, op. cit., p. 178.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 290.

³ See above (p. 30) the passage quoted from Schlimmer.

has brought forward in support of his allegation that Zoroaster may have been a hemp-addict. We have not found one tittle of proof in it. Any doubts that may still linger are dispelled as soon as one takes into account certain facts which Nyberg has not mentioned in his book. I will state them as briefly as possible.

1. The derivatives of Indian hemp known as *bang*, *ḥašīš*, and so on, were not known in Iran or anywhere west of Iran before the eleventh century of our era at the earliest. Acquaintance with Indian hemp is ultimately due to the Muslim conquest of India in the first years of that century. The plant is first mentioned by medical writers in the thirteenth century, but must have been known a little before that date.¹ At any rate, it is a bad anachronism to talk, as Nyberg does,² of a 'West-Iranian *ḥašīš*-nest' with reference to the sixth century B.C.

2. The ordinary hemp plant that was cultivated in Persia and elsewhere for its fibre and the oil of its seeds, also possesses slight narcotic properties, slight in comparison with the Indian variety; but on the whole the presence of such properties passed unnoticed in ancient times. Greek, Syrian, Arab, and Persian medical books and pharmacopoeias, unimpeachable authorities in a question of this kind, are unanimous on this point. The most that is ever said is that one gets a headache if one eats too much of its seeds.³ Its narcotic quality was discovered only after the Indian variety had become known.

3. The Persian word *bang*, in so far as it means 'Indian hemp', is a loan-word from the Indian term *bhaṅga*. In Persian—unfortunately—the loan-word collided with an indigenous word *bang* which also designated a plant, namely, 'henbane'. In Persian books *bang* never means anything but 'henbane', at least until the twelfth century;⁴ it still has that meaning nowadays, beside that imported

¹ Cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 204 sqq. and his paper *A Chapter from the History of Cannabis Indica*, quoted *ibid.*, p. 205, n. 2.

² Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 341 (the Median town Kunduru).

³ e.g. *Kitābu 'l-abniyah 'an Ḥaḡd'iqi 'l-adciyah*, p. 158, l. 1.

⁴ See e.g. *Kitābu 'l-abniyah*, pp. 54 sq. There are four kinds of *bang* = *Hyoscyamus*, the black, the red, the white, and the brown. Only the white variety (= *Hyoscyamus albus*) is used medicinally. All are highly poisonous, induce torpor, madness, disable, &c. On the Syrian and Arab writers see I. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 381, where Arab. *banj* (from Pers. *bang*) = ὁσέκουρος. M. Meyerhof in his edition of Maimonides' *Sarḥ Asmā'i 'l-'Uḡqār* (Cairo 1940) attributed confusion of *banj* with the Indian *bhaṅga* to his author (p. 32); but that confusion is not present in the text of Maimonides. Incidentally, Meyerhof remarked that 'au Caire on vend encore les fleurs, feuilles et semences

with the Indian word. This meaning, of course, is appropriate also to the Pahlavi word *mang*, which as we have seen was a deadly poison.

4. The correct word for 'hemp' in Pahlavi and classical Persian is not *mang* or *bang*, but *lāhdūnak/lāhdāne*.

5. It is very far from certain that the Avestan word *baxha* is connected at all with Pahlavi *mang*, Persian *bang*. There is the Vendidad passage in which God is said to be *ax^aafna abaxha*; to translate, as is usually done, as 'without sleep, without *baxha*'—whether hemp or henbane—makes it appear a little incongruous. I should prefer 'not subject to sleep, not liable to perish', taking *baxha* as corresponding to Sanskrit *dhvaṃsa*—'perishing, coming to an end, destruction'. This explanation is in better agreement with the rules of phonology than the current one, and the meaning fits the other Avestan passages.¹

This concludes what I wish to say on the new theories that Nyberg and Herzfeld have put forward. My third lecture will be devoted to the examination of a few facts that seem to be consistent with the common opinion on Zoroaster.

de la jusquiame blanche' as *bing*. Dymock, Warden, and Hooper, *Pharmacographia Indica*, ii. 628: *bang*, *barj* = *Hyoscyamus spect.*, the variety imported from Khorasan into India = *Hyoscyamus reticulatus* L. Armenian *bang* 'Bilsen-kraut', Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, 263.

¹ *vibaxha* = Skt. *vidhvaṃsa*.

THIRD LECTURE

IN my first two lectures I gave some of the reasons that prevent me from accepting the extravagant views on Zoroaster which Nyberg and Herzfeld have presented. In this lecture we shall be occupied with reviewing some matters that lie within the area of common opinion.

I hope I shall be forgiven if I refrain from defining what the common opinion on Zoroaster is. There is scarcely a point on which there is unanimity: Zoroaster's time and place, the religion he inherited from his forefathers, the message he brought, his aim, his community, the development of his church, the history of the Avesta—each scholar will dissent from his fellows on one point or the other. In spite of this healthy divergence of views there are nevertheless certain basic matters on which all but extremists are agreed. We must not lose sight of the essentials in favour of mere details. It is agreed, for example, that Zoroaster was a man of forceful personality who impressed the people of his time so deeply that his memory was never extinguished; that he was a prophet, if prophet means one who believes himself inspired by a divine being to bring a message to his people; that he possessed moral integrity, preached truth and truthfulness, and abhorred lies, deceit, and hypocrisy; that he had something new to say that was worth both saying and listening to; and that the people whose spiritual guide he was were not savages but reasonable human beings.

The first matter to be considered in this lecture is the date of Zoroaster. It is obviously impossible to understand anything of anyone without knowing, at least approximately, the time in which he lived, without apprehending, by such knowledge, his environment, the conditions of life, the cultural situation in which he found himself. To say that the date is irrelevant shows abysmal lack of feeling for all history. The date must be settled one way or the other; without it all discussion on Zoroaster will remain futile.

On the date there have been, in essence, only two opinions. The Zoroastrian tradition has preserved a date which would put Zoroaster in the neighbourhood of 600 B.C. Opinion is divided according to whether this traditional date is accepted as true or rejected.

I will say straightway that I count myself among those who accept the date and all that flows from it. There is nothing in the historical situation, in the cultural environment, in the religious development, in fact in anything, that can be said to conflict with it. As it can be shown to be in perfect agreement with the required conditions, we should accept it as a fact and suppress the natural urge to doubt all and everything, and in particular any kind of date.

Those who reject the date seem to do so not so much because of reasoned arguments but out of a vague feeling, the feeling that the Gāthās of Zoroaster are old, old, ever so old; as if 600 B.C. were not old enough for almost anything! It was due to the same kind of vague feeling that earlier generations of scholars attributed the Rigveda to the third millenium B.C.—an estimate that is thoroughly discredited nowadays. Of course, this feeling is not, as a rule, represented as such, but appears in the guise of specious reasoning. In the case of Zoroaster, we have to deal chiefly with two pleas: one is a linguistic argument of such extraordinary feebleness that one is amazed at finding it seriously discussed at all; the other is the hitherto unsuccessful attempt to set the traditional date aside by showing that it is not a genuinely transmitted date, but one found by calculation in later times.

The linguistic argument is this: in comparison with the language of the Old Persian inscriptions the language of the Gāthās is far less developed, far closer to hypothetical Old Iranian; therefore, the Gāthās should be older than the oldest Old Persian inscriptions by more than a few decades. This argument would hold good only if the language of the Gāthās were the same dialect, at an earlier stage, as Old Persian; but that is not the case and has never been claimed. It is notorious that the various dialects of one and the same language group develop at different speeds and in different directions, so that the comparison of two dialects can never lead to a relative date. Moreover, in Iranian the Eastern and Western dialects developed not merely in different but in opposite directions; thus while the word endings disappeared in the West, they were well maintained in the East. From the point of view of comparative linguistics the Gāthās could have been composed at a date far later than 600 B.C.

Thus the only possible way of disparaging the traditional date is by proving that it was concocted by a clever chronologist. The latest attempt of this kind was by Nyberg, who attributed its

invention to the time of Yezdegerd 'the Sinner', around A.D. 400, when the expectation that the end of the world was near had kept (to believe Nyberg) chronologists working overtime. We need not go into the details of his ingenious construction; for there is no evidence of any description to show that the Persians of the time of Yezdegerd were worried by millennial speculations; but, what is more important, it has been proved in the meantime that the traditional date must have been known as early as the beginning of the Sassanian reign, in the third century.

Not much value can be attached to a Manichaean text¹ which gives the time passed between the Biblical Enoch and King Vištāspa on the basis of a calculation in which the traditional date of Zoroaster appears to be involved; there is a gap in the manuscript at the critical point. However, clear proof is furnished by a discovery made by an American scholar, Dr. Hildegard Lewy,² and perfected by Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh.³ It is briefly this:

Under the first Sassanian kings a system of chronology was established which allowed the Arsacid dynasty, the Parthian kings whom the Sassanians displaced, only 266 years, little more than half the period during which that dynasty had, in fact, ruled over Iran. This singular mistake was explained by an Arab author of the tenth century, Mas'ūdī, as due to deliberate fraud on the part of the Sassanian kings, who had wished to belittle the memory of their hated predecessors and therefore, finding the length of their rule unsuitably impressive, simply decreed its reduction by half. In spite of its strangeness Mas'ūdī's explanation found credit until recent times; the truth of the matter has only now been recognized by the two scholars I mentioned.

At the beginning of the Sassanian epoch there was current in Persia only one era by which events could be conveniently dated: the Seleucid era.⁴ That it was widely used in that country is well established; thus the Parthian coins date by it. However, although the Seleucid era was used, its origin was not known; in particular, the Persians did not know that it was a foreign era. Wrongly believing it to be an indigenous way of counting years,

¹ *Bull. School Or. & Afr. Stud.* xi (1943), p. 73.

² 'The Genesis of the Faulty Persian Chronology', *JAOS.* lxiv (1944), pp. 197-214.

³ The 'Era of Zoroaster', *JRAS.* (1947), pp. 33-40.

⁴ Occasionally the 'Arsacid' era was used; thus in the inscription of Artaban V, dated in the year 462 (erroneously read as 532 by Ghirshman, *Monuments Piot.* 97 sqq.).

they combined it recklessly with their world-year of twelve thousand years, which had been devised many centuries earlier, perhaps in the fifth century B.C. This world-year had been a vague affair. The great events of world history as seen by the Persians were fixed in it: the creation of the world, the First Man, the coming of Zoroaster, the future Messiah, Judgement Day, &c.; but it had no precise relation to every-day life. This was changed now: by becoming combined with the Seleucid era the world-year ceased to be a nebulous speculation and gained practical importance. The years of the Seleucid era were identified with the corresponding years of the tenth millennium of the world-year; thus the Seleucid year 538, which was counted as the official beginning of Sassanian rule, became the year 9,538 of the world era.

Now, on the other hand, the tenth millennium is the one that opens with the Coming of Zoroaster. In the year 9,001 Zoroaster, then 42 years of age, converted King Vištāspa. From that time until Alexander the Great 258 years passed. Alexander was believed to have ruled for fourteen years. This then is the 'traditional date of Zoroaster': either *258 years before Alexander* or $258 + 14 = 272$ *years before the death of Alexander* (the Coming of Zoroaster) or $258 + 42 = 300$ *years before Alexander* (the birth of Zoroaster).

When the Seleucid era was identified with the tenth millennium, its beginning necessarily coincided with the Coming of Zoroaster. Thus the Seleucid era became, so to speak, the 'era of Zoroaster'. The mistake that was made in determining the length of the Arsacid rule followed automatically. Ardashir, the first Sassanian king, ascended the throne in 538. Subtract from 538 the 258 years from the Coming of Zoroaster to Alexander and the 14 years of Alexander, then the remainder must be the period of Arsacid rule (which was wrongly believed to have begun with the death of Alexander). This remainder is precisely 266 years, the number of years actually allotted to the Arsacids in the Sassanian tradition.

The mistake thus proves to be a perfectly innocent one. It reveals not deliberate fraud, as Mas'ūdī thought, but singular ignorance of Iranian history. The point that concerns us here is that the mistake presupposes acquaintance with the traditional date of Zoroaster, *258 years before Alexander*. It became possible only because the traditional date was not merely known to exist, but respected as an immutable quantity.

The intrusion of the Seleucid era into the Zoroastrian sacred

calendar is, at first sight, very strange. It becomes less so when one knows that it was misused, in a similar fashion, by the Manichaeans. The Manichaeans had the same kind of world-year as the Zoroastrians—12,000 years, 12 world-months of one thousand years each. The world-months, as the months of the solar year, could be (and usually were) named after the twelve constellations; thus the first thousand years constituted the 'millennium of Arics', the second the 'millennium of Taurus', and so on. There exists an interesting Chinese document¹ on the Manichaean religion that so far has not been made accessible to Western scholars. It is a brief statement which the Manichaean bishop of China submitted to the Chinese emperor in A.D. 731. It gives the chief points in the history of the Manichaean Church, its dogmas, rites, sacred books, and so forth. In that document it is said that according to the world-year calendar: 'in the 527th year of the era controlled by the 12th constellation called *mo-hsieh* the Buddha of Light Mani was born in the country of Su-lin in the royal palace of Pa-ti &c.' The name of the twelfth constellation, *mo-hsieh*, is the Parthian or Sogdian word for Pisces, *māsyag*. According to this statement Mani was born in the year 11,527 of the world-era. Now we know that Mani was in fact born in the year 527 of the Seleucid era. The Manichaeans therefore had identified the Seleucid era dates with the corresponding years of the twelfth and last millennium, while the Zoroastrians had chosen the tenth millennium—more providently; for as early as at the date of the Chinese document, A.D. 731, the Manichaeans must have found it difficult to explain why the end of the world had not come with the end of the twelfth millennium, which should have occurred in the spring of 690, over forty years before.

Although it forms no part of the subject under discussion, it may be worth while to mention here that the Chinese document makes it possible to fix the date of the birth of Mani. According to it, he was born on the eighth day of the second Chinese month and died on the fourth day of the first month. These dates were not properly converted, but merely translated. We know that Mani died on the fourth day of the Babylonian month Addaru. As *first Chinese month* here corresponds to Addaru, *second Chinese month* should be equal

¹ Yabuki Keiki, *Meisa yoin*. Rare and unknown Chinese manuscript remains of Buddhist literature discovered in Tun-huang collected by Sir Aurel Stein and preserved in the British Museum. Tokyo, 1930, pl. 104. *Taishō Issaikyō*, vol. liv, No. 2147A.

to the Babylonian month following upon Addaru, which is Nisan. Mani, therefore, was born on the eighth of Nisan in the Seleucid year 527, which corresponds to the 14th of April, A.D. 216.¹

To return now to Zoroaster, I think we can say that the earlier attempts at disparaging the traditional date have broken down by the demonstration that the date was established by the third century of our era at the latest. It is to be expected that there will be fresh attempts, aiming to show that the date was found by calculation; until that has been shown conclusively, we shall be wise to assume that it is a genuine date.

There is no difficulty in such an assumption. It is but natural that the members of the early Zoroastrian community should have counted the years from a significant moment in the life of their prophet, and that they should have gone on doing so until Alexander destroyed the Persian Empire and, with it, the power of the Magi; that with the confusion brought on by the Macedonian conquest the counting of years should have been interrupted, but, that, nevertheless, that one date, so-and-so many years before Alexander, should have been remembered for all time, although otherwise the memory of all that went on before Alexander and of much that happened after Alexander was extinguished.

That there is nothing strange in all this is readily understood when one considers what Alexander meant to the Persians. To the modern historians who base themselves on Greek or Macedonian authors only, and who in judging the source material give preference to Alexander's intimate friends and companions (the Orientalist might say: his accomplices), while they silence the few critical voices among the Greek writers by pointing out that they had no first-hand knowledge of events since they had no share in Alexander's army command (and, one is tempted to add, no share in the immense booty Alexander's activities brought), Alexander may appear as a saint. To his Persian victims he seemed a veritable monster. They failed to notice the high civilisatory motives which the historians are fond of ascribing to him. They only saw a blood-thirsty conqueror who exterminated whole nations in senseless massacre, who burned their towns and stole their possessions, who even robbed their temples and the tombs of their ancestors. The conquest by Alexander is the greatest break in the continuity of

¹ H.-C. Puech, *Le Manichéisme* (1950), p. 33 and notes 109-10, pp. 115-16, has now arrived at the same result.

Persian history; it took the Persians more than half a millennium to recover from its effects. That is why the counting of the years of Zoroaster came to be interrupted with the advent of Alexander.

When one tries to see Alexander as he was seen by the Persians, one also understands what the final term is in the date *258 years before Alexander*. It cannot refer, for example, to the birth of Alexander or to his accession to the throne of Macedonia, happenings that were irrelevant from the Persian point of view. It can refer only to the event that made him the ruler of all Asia, the death of Darius, the last Achaemenid king, in the summer of 330. The date of Zoroaster is thus 588 B.C. However, from time to time it has been suggested that the date *258 years before Alexander* should mean *258 years before the beginning of the Seleucid era*, because that era was sometimes called 'the era of Alexander'. This explanation cannot be maintained; it is based solely on a mistake which the eminent Muslim astronomer al-Beruni committed in one of his early works, but which he himself denounced in a treatise he wrote later in life for the express purpose of apologizing for this error.¹ Moreover, the Seleucid era only gradually came to be used in Persia, where its introduction passed unnoticed. It was never known in that country as 'the era of Alexander'; how little it was associated with the name of Alexander is best seen by the early Sassanian construction of chronology which put Alexander in the 258th year of that era and not at its beginning.

We are thus entitled to hold to the view that the year 588 B.C. is the true date of Zoroaster. The one uncertain point is whether the year from which his adherents counted was the one in which he reached the age of thirty and had his first revelation, or the one when he was forty and had his first success, or the one when he was forty-two and converted King Vištāspa. The differences are not of much account. The tradition says that his age at death was seventy-seven. Accordingly, the three possible dates of Zoroaster are: 630-553, 628-551, 618-541.

It is not without interest that such a date was given as early as the eighth century by a Syrian writer, Theodore bar Qōnī, who put Zoroaster 628 years and seven months before Christ.² If, as is generally supposed, Theodore bar Qōnī used the book which Theodore of Mopsuestia had written against the Magian religion,

¹ See S. H. Taqizadeh, *Bull. School Or. Stud.* x. 129 sq.

² H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaites des coupes de Khoubair*, p. 113.

this date may have been known even at the beginning of the fifth century.

Thus the life-time of Zoroaster immediately preceded the destruction of the Median state by the Persian Cyrus, who conquered the countries of the whole of Asia as known at that time and laid the foundation of the Achaemenian Empire. How far the Median state had extended to the east is not known; there is nothing to indicate that it had ever reached beyond the Caspian Gates. It is likely that it was Cyrus who joined the eastern half of Iran to the western provinces, to Media and Persia; we know that he met his death fighting with nomad tribes somewhere between Marv and the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea.

If Cyrus was the first western ruler to conquer the provinces of eastern Iran, they must have been organized, before his advent, in the form of a state or a number of states. Otherwise, if nomad tribes merely had roamed these vast areas, each independent of the next and each hostile to all others, even the great Cyrus could not have accomplished their organization in the brief years he could devote to the East. That would have been a task needing centuries rather than generations; and Cyrus, of course, was chiefly occupied with his western provinces, with Media, Babylonia and Asia Minor.

Moreover, there are reflexes in the Greek tradition which point to the existence of a state in eastern Iran that was independent of the Medians. There is, in particular, the story of the River Akes, which Marquart has analysed so admirably.¹ According to this story, which Herodotus gives, presumably from Hecataios, the Khwarezmians, in the old days, possessed the valley of the Akes, i.e. the Hari-rūd and its continuation, the modern Tejen. They exercised some measure of suzerainty over the Hyrcanians, the Parthians, the Sarangians of Seistan, and the Thamanaceans of Arachosia. Both Marv and Herat were then occupied by the Khwarezmians, whom Hecataios, in one of the few fragments of his work that have come down to us, places to the east of the Parthians.²

We can thus be fairly certain that there was a state in eastern Iran which centred around Marv and Herat and co-existed with the Median Empire; which was led by the Khwarezmians and abolished by Cyrus, who deprived them of their southern pro-

¹ J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, pp. 8 sqq.

² Cf. W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, pp. 478 sqq.

vinces, whereupon they gradually retired to their northern possessions along the River Oxus.

Zoroaster and his protector, Kavi Vištāspa, fit effortlessly into this situation. The Avesta places them in a country vaguely named Airyanəm Vaējō. Both the Avesta and the later Zoroastrian tradition assure us that this Airyanəm Vaējō was Khwarezm. This identification should be accepted, but with the qualification that Airyanəm Vaējō was not merely the Khwarezm of later times, when it comprised only the districts near the lower course of the Oxus, but the Khwarezm of the time of Vištāspa, of which Marv and Herat formed perhaps the most important part. It is remarkable that according to the Avesta and the whole Persian tradition, as embodied in the Sassanian Khudāi-nāmag, Vištāspa was the last of a line of kings. If we see Vištāspa, as we should, as the ruler of the Khwarezmian state of Marv and Herat in the first half of the sixth century, we understand why his dynasty and his state disappeared all of a sudden: his state suffered the fate that Babylon and Lydia had suffered, it lost its separate existence in Cyrus' gigantic empire.

Not more than a passing glance deserves the pseudo-historical construction by some Sassanian theologians, who, at a time when the eastern provinces were lost to the Persians, tried to localize Zoroaster in the West, in Media or Azerbaijan. Its absurdity is apparent when one considers the geographical horizon of the Avesta. A sufficiently large number of place-names occur in the Avesta. We find references to such regions as Seistan, Arachosia, the Hindukush, Bactria, Sogdiana, Marv, Herat, Hyrcania; but the very name of Media is not mentioned in the whole of it.¹ Only Rayā, the north-easternmost town of Media, the first town entered by a traveller from the East, occurs in two particularly late passages. Moreover, one can say confidently that any unbiassed reading of the Gāthās always has given, and always will give, the impression that their author was untouched by urban civilization. Yet Media was the one corner of Iran, at the time of Zoroaster, that boasted towns and had reached the state of civilization that goes with the existence of towns.

Summing up, one can say that the traditional date of Zoroaster is in agreement with the requirements of history; and inversely, that the little we know of history demands the date that the tradition provides and the place that it indicates.

¹ Nor, incidentally, is the name of Persia or the Persians mentioned.

To turn now for a moment from history to linguistics, the study of the distribution of the various Iranian dialects and of their inter-relation offers little hope of determining the localities in which the speakers of the languages preserved in the Avesta lived. The most one can say is that the two principal dialects of the Avesta are neither pronouncedly western Iranian nor markedly eastern Iranian, that in fact they occupy an intermediary position. This would agree with the assumption that the Gāthās were composed in the neighbourhood of Marv and Herat, and the later Avestan texts for the greater part in Seistan; but as we know nothing of the languages that were spoken in those regions in later times, and as no dialects have survived there to the present day, we cannot count on definite proof.

At present, our one hope in this field lies in the further exploration of the Khwarezmian language material. I may perhaps recall that, together with my friend Ahmed Zeki Validi Togan, I was the first to draw attention to this material and make some use of it; a few years later our Russian colleagues announced their discovery of the same material and made the same use of it; they also promised an early publication, which so far we have waited for in vain. While it is true that there are considerable difficulties to be surmounted before the Khwarezmian glosses can properly be utilized for the purpose of comparison, it would nevertheless be wrong to leave them out of account altogether, merely because their publication has been impeded.

Although the Khwarezmian material is of very late date—the earliest from the eleventh century, the bulk from the thirteenth—it preserves features of the ancient language. One can quote such verbs as *iyy-* 'to go', Av. *iy-*; *miyy-* 'to die', Av. *mirya-*; such nouns as *angēθ* (انگيث) 'partner', an agricultural term hitherto known only from Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C. (הגית);¹ *aścūr* 'uncle', reflecting an ancient *pturya*, Av. *tūirya-*; *uđir-* 'belly' from *udara-*; *ađid* 'silver' from Av. *arəzata-* (OPers. *ardata-*); *raxt* 'red' cf. Skt. *rakta-*. Of special interest are those cases in which Khwarezmian goes with Avestan. A few representative words may be mentioned here: *ūzanik* 'neighbour' Av. *vərəzənya-*; *ryen(d)-* 'to call, invite' = Av. *grən-*; *wass-* 'to say' = Av. *vaša-*,

¹ A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, No. 43, l. 9. The word should not be translated as 'compatriot'.

otherwise only in Balochi *gwaſ-*, Orm. *γuſ-*; *arma* 'leave alone', *armic* 'leave him alone', cf. Av. *airine*, *armañad-* &c., otherwise only in Scythian *āpua* 'one' and Ossetic *ärmāst* 'alone'; *wāraynik* 'falcon' = Av. *vārayna-*, otherwise only in Sogdian *w'ryn-*; *uzra* 'arise!', a form that not merely sounds Avestan, but is actually found in the Avesta; *karbun* 'lizard', of the many words of this stem that occur in the various Iranian dialects the only one that corresponds precisely to Av. *kahrpuna-*. And though last not least, the verbal stem *karb-* 'to moan' or 'mumble', a derogatory term: to say *mā karba*, which roughly meant 'don't talk nonsense', was considered a grave insult; in one passage it is debated whether a Koran teacher who in exasperation said to his pupil *karbīda* 'go on moaning (mumbling) it' was guilty of *kuf*, the gravest sin, which meant expulsion from the Muslim community: the lawyers wisely decided that the teacher had intended to insult not the Koran, but his inept pupil, whose way of reading the sacred book left much to be desired.² There is little doubt that it was from this verb³ that the Gāthic term *karapan-* was derived, which Zoroaster himself used to refer to the priests of whom he disapproved.

One cannot go so far as to say that the linguistic evidence provided by the Khwarezmian material proves the truth of our historical construction; but one can say that it is in consonance with it. That is the most one can hope for in our present state of knowledge.

Having dealt with the time, the place, and the language of Zoroaster, we turn now to his religion. If one asks in what points his religion differs from the other religions of antiquity, the answer is: in his dualism, and in his noble view of Man as the arbiter between Good and Evil. These two matters are closely bound up with each other. Zoroaster saw the world as the battlefield of two eternal abstract Powers, Good and Evil, both of which manifested themselves not only in mental and spiritual phenomena, but also in the material things of this world; this dualism, accordingly, has been well described as an ethical dualism, in contradistinction to the dualisms of a later age in which the two hostile powers were Mind and Matter, or Soul and Matter.

The battle between Good and Evil has been in process since Time began and will go on till the end of the world: but as the two

¹ From *karba* (iptve. sg. 2) + *hi* (suff. pron. sg. 3) + *da* (iptve. particle).

² Cf. *Islamica* iii, 207, 15-6.

³ Cf. Skt. *kṛp-*.

powers are evenly matched, its outcome is uncertain. The decisive factor will be the collective action of humanity. Every man or woman is free to choose which side to join: his or her support will add permanent strength to the side chosen, and so, in the long run, the acts of Man will weigh the scales in favour of the one side or the other. Thus Zoroaster, beside his principal two powers, recognizes a third, which, though not of equal rank, holds the balance.

How different Zoroaster's Man is from the cringing primitive who runs to his witch-doctor to beg for protection against the dark threats of imaginary spirits; or from the trembling believer of the contemporaneous religions of the Near East, who approaches his god with fear and servility! He is a proud man, who faithfully serves the side he has, freely and deliberately, chosen, but who remains conscious of the value of his support and of his own value.

Zoroaster's view of Man—this is the important point—was not reached by nebulous feeling or by the dreams that may come to one in a drugged stupor; it can have been reached only by thinking, and I should say by very clear thinking. This is true also of his dualism. It seems to me that a dualism of this kind can have been built only on a pre-existing monotheism, on the belief that one God, a good God, was responsible for the world. For this reason I would claim that the religion in which Zoroaster grew up was purely monotheistic. Zoroaster's religion (as are most dualistic movements) is best understood as a *protest against monotheism*. Wherever a monotheistic religion establishes itself, this protest is voiced—if there is a man with a brain in his head. Any claim that the world was created by a good and benevolent god must provoke the question why the world, in the outcome, is so very far from good. Zoroaster's answer, that the world had been created by a good god *and* an evil spirit, of equal power, who set out to spoil the good work, is a complete answer: it is a logical answer, more satisfying to the thinking mind than the one given by the author of the Book of Job, who withdrew to the claim that it did not behove man to inquire into the ways of Omnipotence.

To us such problems may seem matters of past history; but to appreciate Zoroaster, we should see him against the background of his time. If we do that, we cannot help paying tribute to him as an original thinker; for he was the first to put forward this protest, based on reasoning, against monotheism; and he was the first, in drawing the consequence from his dualism to give his lofty

conception of the position of Man. This is a great achievement. It seems all the greater when we consider that in material culture he was not far advanced; far less advanced than the peoples of the Near East, whom he nevertheless surpassed in thought.

So far I have treated it as accepted that Zoroaster *was* a dualist, and that he was the inventor of his dualism; yet doubt has been thrown on both points. To take the second first, it need not detain us for long. If for argument's sake we take it for granted that Zoroaster *was* a dualist, then we can say that Zoroaster was the first man known to advocate dualism; that he himself attributed his message to revelation, not to earlier teachers; that by his adherents he was regarded as their prophet, and as such was believed to have been the first to proclaim his doctrines. It is a little disingenuous to say now 'No, he must have learnt his dualism from somebody else, I don't know whom; it does not matter who it was, anybody would do, anybody, of course, except Zoroaster himself'. There is no call for a Shakespeare-Bacon controversy here, all the less as we have not even a name to hang on the Unknown Genius.

More important is the denial that Zoroaster was a dualist at all. It has been made, firstly, by Parsee theologians who are apt to regard the attribution of dualism as an insult to their prophet and themselves. However, their writings on this point are clearly apologetic. Early in the last century they were attacked by Christian missionaries, who revived the hoary arguments against dualism stored up in the works of the Fathers, and thundered against the Parsees as St. Augustine once had thundered against the Manichaeans. Driven on the defence, some of the Parsee theologians raised the status of their good God, depreciated the rank of the Evil Power, and so assimilated their religion to Christianity. Our sympathy goes to those among them who withstood the attack and upheld their ancient belief.

Zoroaster's dualism has been denied, secondly, by modern scholars, on the basis of their interpretation of his own words. Several apparently sound reasons have been advanced. There is a lack of balance in the figures that represent Good and Evil: e.g. there is Ahura Mazdāh on the one side, together with his agent Spōnta Mainyu, the Sacred Spirit; but on the other side there is only Anra Mainyu, the Evil Spirit. Spōnta Mainyu is the counterpart to Anra Mainyu, so where is a counterpart to Ahura Mazdāh?

Further, throughout the Gāthās there is the firm conviction that Good will triumph; the possibility even, that Evil may gain the victory, is not given a thought; therefore, the Good side must be intrinsically the stronger. Yet if one party preponderates, how can one talk of dualism? Does not dualism, in the strict sense, imply that the two powers are evenly matched in every respect?

Such arguments are not convincing. The same defects, lack of parallelism in the divine and anti-divine figures and ultimate preponderance of one side over the other, are found in all dualist systems; indeed, far from affecting their character as dualist, they appear to be necessary ingredients. They are present even in Manichaeism, the very model of all dualist religions.

The reason for the apparent attribution of greater weight to one power lies in the nature of these movements as religions. Their teachers were not professors of philosophy, arguing dispassionately the merits of new theories on the origin of the world; but prophets who fervently sought to rally humanity to their cause. How could they be expected to admit in public the mere possibility that their chosen side, whose support they demanded, might lose the great battle? But in their hearts they knew that the possibility existed, however much they hoped and even believed that victory would be theirs. Precisely that knowledge gave impetus to their appeal and power to their words. It is implicit in their whole activity; for otherwise, had the good side possessed inherent superiority and been bound to win anyway, there would have been no need for them to exert themselves. There is here a clear conflict between the abstract doctrines and the needs of missionary policy; what is mere hope and optimism tends to be expressed as if it were fact. The existence of this conflict has caused enough trouble to the dualist religions: their enemies were not slow to draw advantage from the resulting inconsistencies.

In Manichaeism the dark or evil Power is led by the King of Darkness. His opponent, in the creation of the world, is the First Man; but he is an emanation of the Father of Greatness, the chief of the light or good Power. The relation between Father of Greatness, First Man, and King of Darkness is precisely that to be observed between Ahura Mazdāh, Spēta Mainyu, and Anra Mainyu. The Manichaean parallel shows that lack of balance among the leading figures is permissible; in the minor figures the absence of symmetry is even more marked. I would now withdraw

the explanation I gave a few years ago.¹ It involved the assumption that in the realm of Darkness there was recognized one higher than Anra Mainyu and directly opposite to Ahura Mazdāh; and that his name was tabooed and therefore is never mentioned in our sources. There is no need for this hypothesis, which by its very nature is incapable of proof.

In any case I can find no evidence in the Gāthās in favour of the theory that Professor Nyberg has evolved on the character of the religion into which Zoroaster was born: that it was a kind of Zervanism, with Ahura Mazdāh in the role of the later Zervan, with Ahura Mazdāh as the father of both the Sacred Spirit and the Evil Spirit. This theory imposes on Zoroastrianism a tortuous development: from Zervanism to the true Zoroastrian dualism, from that back to Zervanism, and from that again to dualism; it can be dismissed as the projection of a late belief into earlier times. As indeed the whole of Nyberg's views on the development that Zoroaster underwent it is based on the assumption that the Gāthās were composed by Zoroaster roughly in the sequence in which they happen to stand now as part of the Yasna. Acquaintance with the history of the sacred books of other religions, the Bible or the Koran or the Rīgveda, scarcely encourages one to trust to such good fortune. As a matter of fact, the Gāthās are arranged simply according to their metres, those of the same metre having been placed together; it is hard to believe that Zoroaster, in each stage of his life, should have confined himself to a single metre, and discarded it in favour of the next when he grew a few years older.

To my mind there is no doubt that Zervanism, with its speculations on Time, its apparatus of numbers, and the idea of the world-year, is the outcome of contact between Zoroastrianism and the Babylonian civilization. It originated in the second half of the Achaemenian period. As a party within the Zoroastrian Church it flourished especially during the first centuries of our era, but was later repressed in favour of the orthodox dualism. Its writings were expunged from the Zoroastrian literature; nevertheless the scrutiny of the Pahlavi books (for which we are indebted chiefly to Professor Nyberg and Mr. Zaehner) has revealed several valuable Zervanist documents, which the orthodox theologians seem to have overlooked. Although, thanks to these documents, we are now fairly

¹ *Apud* S. G. Champion, *The Eleven Religions* (1944), p. 291.

well acquainted with Zervanism, we still depend, as regards its principal tenets, on foreign sources.

These foreign sources, chiefly Syrian and Armenian Christian writers, are undeniably hostile witnesses. The doctrines they attribute to the Zervanists are often little short of outrageous. One who has observed the perversions and, not rarely, downright lies with which early Christian polemical writers attacked the Manichaeans (no doubt believing that in their good cause every weapon was fair), may well hesitate to accept their word when they set out to ridicule the Zervanists. All here depends on our recognition of the manner in which these writers obtained and used their information.

It has been evident for some time that all the principal anti-Zervanite writers based themselves on one and the same source. At present it is generally held that this ultimate source was the book, *On the Persian Magism*, by Theodore of Mopsuestia, a Christian bishop who died in about A.D. 428. This view leaves out of account a hitherto inaccessible Manichaean text written in the Middle Persian language. The Manichaean fragment¹ mentions the demon *Māhmt*, known otherwise only from the Armenian Eznik, and describes his functions in such a way as to leave no doubt that its author used the same book as the one that lay before

¹ M 28. F. W. K. Müller published a part of it, but omitted the most interesting sections. The captions are: R *jwng* 'yg 'burs'm, V *gwyfn* 'yg = the verse-homilies of the congregation (Arm. *foh*, &c.) of Abursām. The folio contains parts of three alphabetic poems (the last three verses of one poem, one whole poem, and the first six verses of another) abusing other religions. The lines on the Zervanists form part of the second poem (verses *h*, *w*, *z*, *h*—with 'wd in the manuscript in place of the original *u*). Text and translation:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>[H] <i>h' dōdy 'ymyl'ne</i> <i>'c 'ydr xwd d'nynd</i> And do not also those know by this very fact</p> <p>[W] <i>'wd gwynd hw 'whrmzyd</i> <i>'wd pōy's'y 'yn xwcn</i> And they assert that Ohrmizd it is consistent with such ideas</p> <p>[Z] <i>z'ur u p'dy's'gyb</i> <i>kwf m'hmy dyw hmwx</i> Falsehood and slander That Māhmt, the demon, had taught him</p> <p>[H] <i>hwzyynd u nh'ynd</i> <i>u bwd hy[n'd] dwfmy</i> They murder and cut to pieces they have been hostile</p> | <p><i>hy prystynd 'dur twcyndg</i> <i>kwf'n 'bdwmyy 'u 'dur</i> that worship the blazing Fire that their end belongs to Fire?</p> <p><i>'wd 'hrmyn br'dr hynd</i> <i>rynd 'u wnydyb</i> and Ahrmn are brothers— that they will come to an evil end.</p> <p><i>gwynd 'br 'whrmzyd</i> <i>shr rōfn qyrdn</i> they tell against Ohrmizd:— to make the world light.</p> <p><i>d'm 'y 'whrmzyd u 'hrmyn</i> <i>'y hru dw[n'n] fwhng'n</i> the creatures of Ohrmizd and Ahrmn: to both the Families.</p> |
|---|--|

the other anti-Zervanite writers. The Manichaean author was one of Mani's first disciples (Abursām or someone close to him) and so must have written about a century before the lifetime of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Moreover, it is clear from the forms of the Persian names used in the ultimate source (e.g. MPers. *m'hmy*,¹ Arm. *Mahmū*) that it cannot have been written in the Greek language. There are traces of the Persian dialect in which the Manichaeans wrote, i.e. the language of the Sassanian court, which the Persians called *Dari*; thus the names of the demons *Kundī*² and *Gandarēwa*³ show the assimilation of *-nd-* to *-nn-*, which is characteristic of that Persian dialect. The nature of the book that gave a description of Zervanism remains thus an unsolved problem.

To conclude, I hope to have shown that the common opinion on Zoroaster, his time, his place, and his religion, is not altogether absurd. A critic may well point out that I have failed to say anything new, and I will not contradict him. It is a fallacy to think that a novel opinion is necessarily right, or an old opinion necessarily wrong.

¹ The Manichaean spelling shows that, contrary to Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 385, the name cannot be derived from *madmīya-*; for original *-adm-* either remains unchanged (Parthian and related dialects) or becomes *-tm-* (Middle Persian), cf. *xdm*: *xēm* 'wound', *nīdm*: *nīēm* 'seat, nest', &c.

² *Kurī* as Manichaean form in the *ŠGV.*, and so restored by M. Benveniste in Theodore bar Qōnī's account of the Zoroastrians (*Le Monde Oriental*, xxvi (1932), p. 203).

³ *Gwarp* in Theodore bar Qōnī, i.e. *Gunnarf* (< *Gonnarβ*). Different explanations have been proposed by M. Benveniste (*loc. cit.*, p. 201) and P. de Menasce (*Journal Asiatique*, 1949, pp. 4 sqq.).

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THE BACTRIAN INSCRIPTION

By W. B. HENNING

THE long-awaited Greek-letter inscription discovered, on 6 May 1957, by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan in the course of their excavations at 'Surkh-Kotal', the ancient Bagolango,¹ has now been made public by M. André Maricq under the title of 'La grande inscription de Kaniska et l'éteo-tokharien, l'ancienne langue de la Bactriane', *JA*, CCXLVI, 4, 1958, 345-440.² It is wonderfully well-preserved and, once one gets accustomed to the somewhat barbaric forms of certain letters, offers not the slightest difficulty to the reading. The difficulties lie elsewhere: this is the first substantial, and at the same time readable, document of the Iranian language once spoken in Bactria and, appropriately to a text in an unknown language, is slow in yielding its meaning to the scholar, who inevitably has to be guided partly by often contradictory internal evidence, partly by uncertain comparisons with related languages. All those devoted to Central Asian history and languages will be grateful to M. Maricq for his painstaking work and for his unselfishness in publishing this superb monument before being able to submit more than a partial interpretation.

The language of the inscription occupies an intermediary position between Pashto and Yidgha-Munji on the one hand, Sogdian, Khwarezmian, and Parthian on the other: it is thus in its natural and rightful place in Bactria; this is also the opinion expressed by M. Maricq (pp. 395 sqq.). It would then be best to call it *Bactrian*. Such a long time has passed since that term fell into disuse, as the name of the Avestan language, that it is available again; there is no reason why we should avoid it. Surprisingly, M. Maricq prefers *éteo-tokharien* as the name of the new language, largely on the ground that in much later times (eleventh century) al-Beruni used *Tokharian* (*tuḫārīy* in Arabic) for the dialect spoken in Bactria, then called *Tuḫāristān*. We cannot well follow al-Beruni's example and simply say *Tokharian*; for that would increase the great confusion already associated with that term. Yet, having some authority in its favour, it could be defended, while *éteo-tokharien* seems inappropriate altogether; for it implies a claim, not made by M. Maricq himself nor indeed tenable,³ that the new language is that of the genuine *Τόχαροι* (as against the people of Qarašahr), who, coming from Kan-su, conquered Bactria in the second century B.C. and caused that country to be renamed. The invaders, as is so often the case, adopted the native language in the course of time; it is possible, even probable, that they imported some

¹ cf. *BSOAS*, XVIII, 2, 1956, 366 sq.

² This issue of the *Journal Asiatique* reached London on 16 October 1959.

³ An intruding language (even if it was also an Iranian one by origin) would not fall so neatly in position.

words into it from their own form of speech, and such words could indeed be properly called *étéo-tokharien*.

It is not at all likely that the inscription, as M. Maricq believes and already suggests by the title of his publication, can be attributed to Kaniška (I). True, his name is mentioned in the opening sentence, as that of the founder of the sanctuary; and no other royal name occurs. Yet, if we consider the contents of the inscription ¹ as a whole, we can hardly fail to get the impression that it was set up a long time after Kaniška's death. We may not yet be able to produce a full translation, but the general drift of its message seems clear: after its foundation by Kaniška, the sanctuary fell into disrepair and was abandoned, until in the *kṣuṇa*-year 31 one *Nokonzoko*, a high official, came there and repaired and adorned the place; three other officials, of equal rank, were associated with *Nokonzoko*'s work; the inscription itself was 'written', i.e. composed, by Mihrāmān and Burzmihruhr, who signed it and caused their heraldic devices ² to be incised after their names.

The purpose of the inscription, therefore, is to celebrate *Nokonzoko*'s restoration; we shall hardly go wrong if we take it that it was by his orders that the inscription was written. It mentions at some length his devotion to the king (lines 7–9); there is a similar phrase about him and his three colleagues at the end (lines 23–24). As the king's name is stated in neither passage, one would assume that the then ruling king is meant, the only one whose name may be taken for granted. The *kṣuṇa*-year ³ 31 is mentioned merely incidentally, as the year in which *Nokonzoko* 'came here' (*μαλο αγαδο*). It has caused great perplexity to M. Maricq; the latest year attested for Kaniška being 23, he advances two hypotheses (p. 384 sq.): *either* that Kaniška continued to live in Bactria beyond 23, leaving the rule of Gandhara and India to others; *or* that the era of the inscription differs from that universally used in monuments belonging to the period of the Kaniška dynasty. Once we have recognized that the inscription was not set up by Kaniška at all, we can dispense with such cumbrous hypotheses. Its date is 31 + x, in the early part of Huviška's reign.

In his chapter 'La destination du sanctuaire' (pp. 368–72) M. Maricq has laid stress on certain words in the opening lines which he renders as 'un sanctuaire appelé Dieu, Roi Kaniška'. Before we can discuss this translation, which is *a priori* improbable, we have to consider some problems of orthography and word-division. The first point to be noticed is the apparent absence of affricates, see Maricq, p. 401. A Middle Iranian language lacking affricates or

¹ It is to be regretted that M. Maricq has not supplied a summary of the contents.

² As far as I see, M. Maricq has not alluded in his article to these interesting monograms, which are personal or family devices of the kind called *tamya* by some scholars (in Western Iran, where they were exceedingly common in Sassanian times, they were known as *nišan*).

³ i.e. regnal year; the ordinary word for 'year' may occur in Fragment G of the *inscription pariétale*: *σαρλ[ο]*, see Curiel, *JA*, CCXLII, 2, 1954, 191 (the last letter is unfortunately in doubt; it might be *σαρδ[ο]*).

sounds representing the ancient affricates, particularly *č*, is frankly impossible. In Bactrian, as in certain related languages, e.g. Pashto and Khwarezmian, the ancient palatal affricates (*č*, *ǰ*) probably became dental affricates (*c*, *j*): in Greek script these could well be represented by *σ* and *ζ*; they might even have developed further to *s* and *z* (as happened in some Pashto dialects). The inscription does indeed contain words in which *σ* = Old Ir. *č*; none of them has been recognized by M. Maricq. For example, *ασο* 'from', lines 4, 5, etc., from *hačā*, which may be part of the compound *ασασκομο* 17, possible **hačā-skamba* 'buttressed'; *φορδαμσο* 2 'at first', cf. the Sogd. suffix *-č(y)* beside *-čyk*, and Sogd. **prtmčyk*; *σιδο* line 1, and perhaps *ασιδο* 2 = *σιδο* with prefixed *ασο* 'from', = 'which, what', the neuter relative-interrogative combined with the particle familiar from Sogdian (')*čw-ZY*, *čwt(y)*; it forms a pair with *κιδο* 'who' 7, 9 (as e.g. Parthian *cy: ky*), cf. Sogd. (')*ky-ZY*, (')*kyty*.¹

M. Maricq assumes that the letters *ιζ* in combination denoted *z* in *μαλιζο*, a frequent word in the inscription, obviously an appellative describing the whole complex of 'Surkh-Kotal', and that this word and its orthography had been borrowed from a Saka dialect (353 sqq., 407 sq.). In face of the fact that *z* in other words is invariably expressed by plain *ζ* in the inscription, such a borrowing of an orthographic device (which owes its invention to the lack of a sign for *z* in the Brāhmī script) is as unlikely as it would have been needless. Moreover, the presumed Saka **malysa* 'house' does not even exist.² Since *μαλιζο* should represent earlier *m-ā-d-i-z-*, with possible elision of some sounds, it could be a compound with OIr. *dizā* 'fortress'; provisionally we will translate it as 'acropolis'. A difficult case is that of *χοηζο* 20, where the consonant cluster may denote some variation of *z*, possibly *ž* (in which case Parth. *xwǰ*, i.e. *xǰž*, could be compared). Yet are we wise to transcribe ypsilon as *h* in all cases? The study of the coins has shown long ago that ypsilon was used for *h*, and it is true that it is so used in the inscription. Nevertheless, in cases where there would otherwise be a heaping of omicra, it may perhaps serve as *u*. For example, *λρονο* 4, 14/5, surely = *lruxo* from Old Ir. *druwa-*,³ which otherwise might have been spelt *λροοο* (in *Λροοασπο* = *Lruwāspō* the awkwardness was less great); probably *ναρουγο μαλιζο* 19/20 = 'the whole acropolis', with *haruugō* from *haruṇaka*⁴; thus possibly in *χουζο* = *xuuzō* or *xuǰžō* (if = Parth. *xwǰ*), so that *ζ* may also serve for *ž*. The origin of *βιζογαργο* 8, probably 'beneficent', is unfortunately in doubt.⁴

The first task that faces the editor of a document of this nature is to divide

¹ An unconvincing explanation of *κιδο* has been given by M. Maricq, 357 sq. Note that the Bactrian equivalent of Sogd. *k'čy* would be **καλο*, and that Khot. *kāde* contains *-d-* from *-rt-*. It may be better to regard *κεδο* as a relative adverb, different from *κιδο*.

² It has been inferred from Khot. *malysaka* = *grhapati*, but a *-ka-* suffix does not usually involve so great a change in meaning.

³ Not recognized by M. Maricq.

⁴ Perh. = *εὐεργέτης*; no connexion with Sogd. *šyr-* etc. seems possible.

the words correctly: this difficult task has been resolved successfully on the whole by M. Maricq, whose text provides a sound basis for further study. It appears to be the rule that all words must end in a vocalic letter.¹ If a word in fact ended in a consonant, an omicron was added to it, except if the closing consonant was *u* expressed by omicron (*ḡao* 'king' = *šāu*); no exception was made in the case of consonantic iota, e.g. final *-ēi* was spelt *-ηιο*. It is possible that here and there a closing omicron expressed a vowel actually pronounced in speech at the time of the inscription; in most cases it functioned virtually as a word-divider. The prepositions *πιδο* = *pid* from *pai*, *αβο* = *ab* from *abi*,² *ασο* = *ac* from *hačā* show that clearly; the omicron even appears in composition: *πιδοριγδο*; *πορογατο* 11/12 and *ποροοατο* 20 with *πορο* from *pai*; *οζοοαστο* 12 with *οζο* = *uz*; even *νο-* = *n-* for ancient *ni-* in *νοβιχτο*, and *νοβαλμο* 5, 15/6 'seat'³ = *nšalm* from *nišadman*-. If an inflexional ending or a suffix is added to the word, the final omicron disappears, e.g. *βαγο* 1: *βαγε* 4, *οτο*: *οτηιο*: *οτανο* *passim*. On these facts, a spelling *-πουροι* 8 as inflected form of *-πουρο* 25 is extremely unlikely. This type of form has induced M. Maricq to assume (359 sq.) a three-case inflexion, with nominative-accusative, genitive, and 'oblique case', the latter being derived from the genitive (as in the plural gen. *-ανο*, obl. *-ανοι*). This hypothesis is not in conformity with what we know of Middle Iranian generally and should be discarded. The difficulties that have led to it disappear if we assume the existence of a word expressed by a single iota: a relative/article *ī*, identical in origin with Khwarezmian *ī* and Middle Persian *ī(g)*; the occurrence of *πιδοι* (i.e. *πιδο* + *ι*) suffices to demand it. Examples:

(1) (Attributes joined to preceding noun) *τα καλδο Νοκονζοκο ι καραλαγγο ι φρειχοαδηγο κιδο φρεισταρο αβο ḡao ι βαγοπουρο ι λιοιχοβοσαρο ι ριζογαργο ι αλορχαλο κιδο . . .* (6-9) 'until (the time) when⁴ Nokonzoko the lord of the marches, loyal-to-the-emperor,⁵ who (is) most devoted⁶ to the king, the *devaputra*, the . . .⁷, the *beneficent one, the merciful⁸ one, who . . .'. The absence of the iota from the last of a series of epithets confirms our analysis.⁹ *Καραλαγγο* is the same word as Pers. *kanārang*, *Χαναράγγης*, a title of the

¹ Therefore *αλ βαγο* 18 should be a single word, *αλβαγο*, perhaps belonging to OPers. **hadabāra*-, MPers. *hdb'l*-, Pers. *yār* 'helper' (rather than a relative of Sogd. *δβ'r*, Oss. *lāvar* 'present(s)').

² The uncompoundd preposition hardly reflects also *apa* and *api*, as M. Maricq supposes.

³ Not recognized by M. Maricq.

⁴ *καλδο* (regarded as a noun by M. Maricq) is a conjunction, from OIr. *kadā* + *do* as in *αιδο*, *κιδο*, *κεδο*, and *ταδο* 'so, then'; cf. Sogd. *kδwty*, and, for *ταδο*, Sogd. *twty* (if its first part belongs to the demonstrative stem *ta-*; cf. Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, p. 307).

⁵ Instead of an appellative adjective, this could be a patronymic, 'son of *Φρειχοαδηο*'.

⁶ cf. Sogd. *frystr*, Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, § 1297; Parth. *fry(h)stwm*.

⁷ Second part of the compound probably OIr. *upačāra* (Aram. *'wpšr*, Pers. *afzār*).

⁸ From *hada* 'with' + the noun attested by Parth. *'xšd*.

⁹ A similar list of epithets connected by the iota in the first line of the Palamedes inscription (Curiel, *JA*, CCXLII, 2, 1954, 194; cf. *BSOAS*, xviii, 2, 1956, 367). Two of them end in *-βιδο* from *-pai*; the second should probably be read *ζηνοβιδο* (rather than *σηνοβιδο*) = Parth. *zynpty* (Pahl. *zynpt*) in the Great Inscription of Shapur (Parth. line 24).

governor of the provinces bordering on the lands of the former Kūšān empire,¹ and supplies its etymology: **kanār-drang* beside **karān-drang*.²

(2) (Introducing preceding attribute) . . . ωσογδομαγγο πιδο ι ιωγο οδο υρσο χρονο . . . μαλο αγαδο (9–11) ‘(when) with a pure heart³ (N.) came here⁴ in the regnal year 31’.

(3) (Direct article) ταδο ι βαγε ασο ι νοβαλμο φροχορτινδο (4/5) ‘then the gods *withdrew from the seat’.

(4) (Introducing preceding genitive?) καραραγγε μαρηγο πιδο ι χοαδηο φρομανο στο ευομανο (23/4) ‘(Burzmihr *et al.*) the lords⁵ of the marches, subservient⁶ to the emperor’s command and acquiescent’.⁷ The interpretation depends on φρομανο, which could be = OIr. *framānā-* ‘command’ or Av. *framanah-*, MPers. *frmyn* ‘joyfully willing’. If the latter, the iota would be a direct article, ‘serving unto the emperor willingly and wholeheartedly’. In either case the passage suggests that στο means ‘and’ and therefore is not different from οδο; M. Maricq regards στο as a relative pronoun, but as such it would be inexplicable.

Χοαδηο has been correctly recognized as the outcome of **xwatāwya* by M. Maricq, who translates ‘seigneur’: it surely deserved some notice in his discussion of the royal titles (pp. 372–84), where it is not even mentioned⁸; for it clearly denotes the Kūšān emperor.⁹ It is also of interest for Persian *xidēv*, in which we can now see a loan from Bactria.¹⁰

We are now prepared to resume the consideration of the opening sentence:

Ειδο μαλιζομο Κανηρκο Οαννδο βαγολαγγο σιδο ι βαγο ραο Κανηρκι ναμο-βαργο κερδο ταδ . . .

M. Maricq’s translation ‘Ceci est un édifice de moi, Kaniška le Victorieux. Un sanctuaire s’étend appelé “ dieu, roi Kaniška ”. Un rempart a été construit . . .’ is based on a sentence-division that runs counter to the spirit of all Middle Iranian languages. Clearly there is a relative clause σιδο . . . κερδο, and ταδ . . . resumes the principal sentence. μο is regarded by M. Maricq as a separate word, the genitive of the personal pronoun of the 1st person. Apart from the

¹ Probably borrowed from the neighbours.

² ‘Who secures the borders (Av. *karān-*)’. At a brief talk I had with Dr. Gershevitch I learned that he had found the same explanation of *καραραγγο*, and that we were in agreement also on several other points concerning the interpretation of the inscription.

³ cf. Sogd. *’uswylm’n’ky* (abstr.); M. Maricq oddly ‘du chanvre (?) fut brûlé’.

⁴ From *imada*; cf. Sogd. *mδy*.

⁵ One does not see why M. Maricq declines to regard this form as a plural.

⁶ So, if the derivation proposed by M. Maricq is correct; a different meaning, ‘mindful’ (from *mar-* ‘remember’), seems not impossible.

⁷ Lit. ‘unanimous’, from Av. **aēvōmanah-* (cf. Av. *hamō.manah-*, Skt. *ekamanas-*, Pers. *yakmaniš*, etc.); *aiya* developed differently from *aiyaka* (ιωγο), cf. e.g. MPers. *’yw* and *yk*; *euo-* perhaps = *āiy-*.

⁸ *ραοναο ραο*, on the other hand, does not occur in the inscription (a remarkable fact).

⁹ It does here actually agree in meaning with *αυτοκράτωρ* = *imperator*, as demanded by Millet’s etymology.

¹⁰ Χοαδηο also on Hephthalite coins, e.g. *apud* Junker, *Sb.PAW*, 1930, 644, top of page, end of obverse (βαγο χοαδηο).

awkwardness of attributing to the inscription (wherein 3rd persons only are used throughout) an isolated form of the 1st person, *μο* cannot easily belong to the accented pronoun (of which the genitive should be **μανο*) ; nor even to the enclitic pronoun, which should be **μα* acc. (if it existed) and **μῆιο* gen.-dat.¹ (since *-ῆιο* = 3rd pers. sing. encl.). In my opinion *μο* is an enclitic particle, a short form of *αμο* 'same, also, and'. In line 20 *ευομο σαδο* is not perceptibly different from *ευο σαδο*, line 12 ; and *μαλιζομο . . . βαγολαγγο* compares with *μαλο αγαδο αμο βαγολαγγο* 11 (end of a clause) 'came here to the sanctuary', where the full form, used after a verb, serves merely to express the identity of the two terms *μαλο* and *βαγολαγγο*.

One might expect that it would be advantageous to read Middle Iranian in a fully vocalized script : in practice, the lack of distinction of long and short vowels is a great hindrance. Is *ναμο* 'name' (*nām*) or 'homage' (*nām*) ? Is *βαργο* = *βārg*, which could be 'fruit, result' (Sogd. *βr'kw*),² or = *βārg*, which might have a variety of meanings ranging from 'riding animal' to 'dress' and (perhaps) 'wall' ? Moreover, *ναμοβαργο* may well be a compound, either *namβarg* 'offering homage' (Parth. *nmbrr-*, etc.) or *nāmβārg* 'bearing a name'. M. Maricq has chosen 'name' and 'wall'.³ Even if one accepted his division of words and sentences, one would have to insist that *βαγο ραο Κανηρκι ναμο* could only mean 'the lord, king named Kaniska'. Putting aside M. Maricq's interpretation, and preferring 'name' and 'bearing', we are still troubled by the function of the iota, which may fall within categories 3 or 4 above. Thus there would be two alternative translations :

either 'This acropolis, the Kaniska-Nicator⁴ sanctuary, which the lord, king Kaniska made name-bearing (= to which he gave this name), . . .'

or 'This acropolis, the Kaniska-Nicator sanctuary, which was made bearing the name of the lord,⁵ king K. (= which was given the name of K.), . . .'

In either case, *Κανηρκι* is necessarily a genitive, either as possessive gen. or as the agent of a transitive verb in the past⁶ ; and therefore *Κανηρκο* cannot also be a genitive, but must be a 'direct case' (= nom.-acc.).⁷ Hence, *Κανηρκο*

¹ Or **μ* at the least, if *κιρδομ* in the Palamedes inscription (Curiel, *JA*, CCXLII, 2, 1954, 194 ; cf. *BSOAS*, xviii, 2, 1956, 367) is correctly formed acc. to the rules of the 'passive construction' and not due to confusion with the intransitive past (with **μ* from *ahmi*).

² Thus probably in line 9 (*βαργανο* pl.).

³ This is the least likely of all possible meanings.

⁴ M. Maricq is presumably right in regarding *Οανυδο* as an epithet of Kaniska ; he may have chosen it in imitation of Seleucus Nicator.

⁵ The customary translation of *βαγο*, Sogd. *βγγ*, MPers. *bgy*, etc., as 'god' even when preceding a man's name is grossly misleading. Every gentleman was entitled to it as a prefix, though hardly regarded as a divinity.

⁶ The 'passive construction' is observed throughout the inscription.

⁷ So is *Νοκονζοκο* in line 7, as the subject of an intransitive verb. The forms in lines 22-23 were felt to be agents of the preceding transitive verbs, but the following *καταλαγγε* owing to its remoteness was allowed the ending of the direct case ; *Κοζγαρκι πουρο* is 'K.'s son', not a compound proper. *Κανηρκι* on the coins should therefore be regarded as a genitive (as it was assumed to be e.g. by Whitehead, *Cat. Panjab Mus.*, i, 187). With regard to the inflexion of these proper names M. Maricq takes the opposite view.

Οανινδο βαγολαγγο is an open compound and should not be rendered by 'the sanctuary of K.-N.'.

The most difficult part of the inscription is that which deals with the abandonment of the sanctuary and its restoration; its obscurity may be due to the presence of technical terms, unknown to us, relating to buildings. Yet one point is clear: the abandonment was largely caused by a breakdown in the water-supply. M. Maricq failed to recognize this, principally because he took *αβο* persistently for a preposition, while it is not only a preposition (= *αβ*) but also the word for 'water' (*āb*); manifestly the latter in lines 12—before a verb with the preverb *uz*—and 14—before a negative particle. He approached the correct understanding by seeing that *αβαβγο* 3/4 must mean 'waterless'; but his translation of *μαλιζο αβαβγο σταδο* 3/4 as 'l'édifice fut asséché' gives a wrong slant; it should be '(whereby)¹ the acropolis came to be waterless'. The preceding words are not clear. Perhaps '... then after (?) he (?) had first completed the acropolis, then its ... water ... dried up (?)'. There is not sufficient material to show whether we may assume that intervocalic *-št-* developed to *t* (or *t̥*),² so that *χοτο* 3 could represent **hušta-*³ 'dried'; some such meaning seems required in view of the following 'whereby'.

It is in accordance with this hypothesis that the restoration of the water-supply was Nokonzoko's preoccupation: *ταδηιο μαλιζο πορογατο ταδηιο ευο σαδο κανδο οτηιο αβο οζοοαστο οτηιο πιδο ασαγγε ιθο οιλιρδο ατανο αβο μαλιζο φαρο καρανο αβο μα γασιο* (11–14) ' (when N. came here, to the sanctuary,) then he *circumvallated the acropolis, then he dug a (?) well and conducted its water out (of it), and he set up *pillars on (with?) stones, so that through them pure water shall not be lacking to the acropolis'. This translation, which is deliberately literal, is merely tentative and will doubtless have to be improved; unless it is misleading altogether, it would seem to imply that Nokonzoko built an aqueduct. It is based on the following interpretation of words⁴:

- (1) *ταδηιο* from *ταδο* 'so, then' with the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. (Av. *hē*, Pashto *ē*, Khw. (*h*)*ē*, etc.).
- (2) *πορογατο* perhaps = Sogd. *prkšt*, with *-t* from *-št*.⁵
- (3) *ευο* may well be different from the first part of *ευομανο*.
- (4) *σαδο* (which M. Maricq equated with Sogd. *s't* 'all') is here clearly = *cād* = Sogd. *č't* 'well'.
- (5) *οτηιο* 'and of him/it' from *οτο* 'and'.

¹ = *αυδο*.

² If *μαβτο* 20/21 means 'broken' (as related languages may induce one to suppose), such an assumption cannot be maintained. M. Maricq's explanation of *νοβιχτο*, which I accept, affords some support. See also below p. 55, n. 7.

³ Against Av. *hušta-*.

⁴ Those correctly explained by M. Maricq are omitted.

⁵ Another possible case of this kind is *ποποοαστο* 20, if from **parwa(r)št* 'nursed, looked after', cf. Parth. *prwrz-*, Sogd. *prwyj-*.

- (6) οζοοαστο = Parth. *ʿzwʿst*, Av. *uzvādaya-*.¹
- (7) *υθο* is obviously a noun, the object of the action expressed by *οιλιρδο*.² Possibly from Av. *qiθyā* 'post'. A meaning 'post' or 'pillar' is recommended by the verb, cf. Av. *stunā vīdārayeiti*.
- (8) *οιλιρδο* from *widrta*,³ from *dar-* 'hold'. The form of the participle agrees with Parth. *dyrd*.
- (9) *ατανο* from *ατο* 18, a conjunction, probably 'so that', from Av. *aṭ + x*; to which the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. plur. has been added (from **han-*, cf. Sogd. *šn*, Khw. *-na-*, etc.). This is found also in *οτανο* 'and of them', *καλδανο*, and *ταδανο*.
- (10) The first *αθο* in this clause = prep. 'to', the second = 'water'.
- (11) *φαρο* postposition referring to *-ανο*; preposition⁴ in line 9; prob. from *frā*.
- (12) *καρανο* 'pure', Sogd. *kr'n*.
- (13) *μα* prohibitive negative.
- (14) *γασηιο* = *γαιēi*, opt. 3rd sing. from *γαι-* 'to lack, want, fail', Sogd. *γw-*, etc.⁵

When the lack of water had made itself felt, *ταδο ι βαγε ασο ι νοβαλμο φροχορτινδο . . . στο μαλιζο πιδοριγδο τα . . . 4/6* 'then⁶ the gods *withdrew from the seat . . . and the acropolis was abandoned until⁷ (N. came . . .)'. M. Maricq has rightly drawn a parallel between this statement and a sentence embedded, in the corresponding place, in the report on Nokonzoko's activities, *ταδανο ι βαγε ασο ι νοβαλμο μα φροχοαβονδηιο στανο μαλιζο μα πιδοριχσηιο 15/7* 'may then the gods not *withdraw from their seat and may their acropolis not become abandoned'. The various conclusions M. Maricq has drawn from this parallelism have already been examined here. The verbal forms in the second passage are optatives, *-ονδηιο* 3rd pers. plural⁸ and *-ηιο* 3rd pers. singular.⁹ The meaning of *φροχορτ-/φροχοαβ-* arises from the contexts, but neither the relation of the stems to each other nor the nature of the base is clear.¹⁰

¹ From the same base *οαστινδο* 5 = 'they were led' (Parth. *w'st hynd*). M. Maricq, comparing (*uz*)*wašta*, needlessly assumes a change of *št* into *st*; similarly in the case of *φρεισταρο*, where his derivation (**fryšt(a)-*) is not clear.

² One does not see how M. Maricq arrived at the meaning 'here'.

³ M. Maricq gives the correct Old Ir. form, but a wrong meaning.

⁴ Presumably; but it might be 'Tyche' there = *Φαρρο*, *Φαρο* on coins (it depends on the meaning of *ανομοαδο*; the relative clause *κιδο . . . βαργανο* probably expresses a pious wish for the king).

⁵ M. Maricq has recognized that this is a form of a present stem, but, since the meaning of *μα* escaped him, could not define it closely enough and referred it to the wrong base, Av. *gav-*.

⁶ Apodosis beginning with *ταδο*; the protasis opened with *οδο καλδο*; correspondingly in the sentence to be discussed next, *οδο καλδανο . . . ταδανο*.

⁷ cf. MPers. (Man.) *d'*, Pers. *tā*.

⁸ Based on 3rd pl. indic. pres. (which presumably ended in *-ονδο*), cf. the generalized Parthian optative in *-yndy(y)*.

⁹ *βοσηιο* 15 = *βοηēi* is another opt. 3rd sing. = Sogd. *βwy*, *wβgy*, MPers. *bwgy*.

¹⁰ One might make bold to emend *φροχοαβ-* into *φροχοαφ-*, if a suitable base *xwar-* were known; perhaps Khwar. *xward-* 'flee' (see my 'Mitteliranisch', p. 113) is a derivative of it.

In the concluding paragraph (17–21) Nokonzoko describes further improvements carried out by him and his colleagues (named in 21–22) and sums up his work. Several unknown or uncertain words, such as *ασασκομο*,¹ *αχβτριγο*,² *αλβαργο*,³ *ιθο*,⁴ *χουζο*,⁵ *ποροοατο*,⁶ *χιργομανο*,⁷ compel us to leave this part aside for the present; some words and short phrases in the main body of the text have also been left for further consideration.

At the end of this largely critical article it is but fitting that we should pay a tribute to the acumen and sureness of judgment displayed by Professor D. Schlumberger, the excavator of the Sanctuary, who from the beginning not only attributed its foundation to Kanīška, but also postulated a measure of rebuilding (Period II) at a time well before the end of Huviška. The inscription beautifully confirms his views on both points: foundation by Kanīška, restoration by Nokonzoko in the early part of Huviška's reign.⁸

¹ See above, p. 49.

² Perhaps = MPers. or Parth. *'štyrg* (itself of unknown meaning), *Sogdica*, pp. 31 sq., 35.

³ See above, p. 50, n. 1.

⁴ Above, p. 54.

⁵ Above, p. 49.

⁶ Above, p. 53, n. 5.

⁷ Perhaps = Pers. *xirman* 'halo, threshing-floor'; hence possibly 'the great forecourt', if *μαβτρο* should reflect OIr. *masita*- (cf. above p. 53, n. 2).

⁸ I have had the advantage of being acquainted with a document written in a closely related language, which Dr. M. Boyce and I are preparing for publication. It would not have been proper to anticipate our joint results; and had I done so, I should have betrayed the trust the owners of the document have reposed in me. It affords a little help in determining pronominal forms, such as *σιδο*, *κιδο*, *ταδο*, *ταδημο*, *οτημο*, but otherwise is itself in need of elucidation.

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A Sogdian God

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A SOGDIAN GOD

By W. B. HENNING

I

The argument to be presented here proceeds from the analysis of a Sogdian word of uncertain orthography and disputed meaning. It first occurred, as *bγ' / npšqty*¹ (apparently with word-division),² in *Soghd. Texte*, I, 39.4, in a translation of Luke xii, 36, corresponding with Syriac *bēθ meštūthā* = (ἐκ) τῶν γάμων; Müller gave '*Gastmahl*', with an asterisk to denote his doubt. Later I published two Manichaean passages.³ One, in the text I titled 'A Job story', speaks of a man who makes his way in the world and becomes rich and "takes to himself many wives and has by them many sons and daughters and gives wives to the sons and grooms to the daughters and makes a great *βγ'n'yšp* / [*']krt'y*": the context demands 'marriage-feast', in agreement with the Greek of Luke. The other is a Sogdian version of a Middle Persian verse, the original having been preserved by good fortune, 'Hail to you, bridegroom, who hast made a marriage-feast for the sons': here *βγ'ny / pškt'kw* renders MPers. *wdwdg'n* 'wedding'. The meaning of *wdwdg'n*, which has a long lineage from the most ancient layer of Indo-European down to Modern Persian,⁴ cannot be disputed;⁵ its direct descendant, *bayōgān*(ī), is still found in any Persian dictionary (Vullers: *nuptiae*). The wording of the MPers. verse causes one to conjecture that its author had in mind a gospel text such as Mark ii, 19, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν; the Syriac version, which he presumably used, has *gnūnā* here. If this conjecture is correct, it becomes likely that *wdwdg'n* meant not merely 'wedding' in general, but also specifically 'wedding-room' or 'bridal chamber', and this may apply equally to the Sogdian word; in support one can cite *wydwtky* in the Pahlavi Psalter, which again renders *gnūnā*. Finally, in the Christian Sogdian texts published by O. Hansen⁶ we meet the word in successive lines, spelt differently each time: *bγ'nypš / qt* (line 17) and *bγ'nyšpqty* (line 18); Hansen gave '*Festmahl*' here (with a query), and E. Benveniste (who improved the translation in other points) has '*festin*' (*JA*, CCXLIII, 3, 1955, 312). That passage, too, is translated from the

¹ Abandoning further resistance I shall henceforth adopt the common practice of transliterating, in Christian Sogdian, *tēth* by plain *t*, and *tau* by *θ*.

² In the light of later-published material one wonders whether this is not misreading of *bγ'[n]ypšqty* (*y* and *n* resembling each other in that position).

³ *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, 486 sq.

⁴ See recently E. Benveniste, *Hittite et Indo-Européen*, 33–40.

⁵ Spelt *wydwtk'n* in Pahlavi. In the horoscope *Gr. Bd.* 51.10 it corresponds with *femmes*, *JA*, 1915, I, 17 (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā) = *nisā'*, *Mafātīh al-'ulūm* 227.15, with 'wives, concubines, matrimony and nuptials' in al-Beruni's *Tafhīm*, see Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, 328 sq. (in the Persian *Tafhīm*: *zanān u surriyatān va zanāšū'i u 'arūsī* . . . , p. 429, ed. J. Huma'i).

⁶ *Berliner soghdische Texte*, II, 884.

Syriac, but the original has not been identified. However, that is no obstacle to understanding; for it palpably alludes to the parable of Matthew xxii, 2-10, so that *bḡ nyšpqty nwystyt*⁷ corresponds with τοὺς κεκλημένους εἰς τοὺς γάμους = *la-mzammnē l-meštūthā* (xxii, 3).

Every one of the Sogdian passages is satisfied with 'wedding', in a sense sufficiently wide as to connote the place where it is celebrated: *gnūnā* ~ *νυμφών*. Yet all the scholars concerned have attributed a different meaning to the Sogdian word, and H. W. Bailey, in an entrancing series of notes,⁸ has developed the opinion that it should be understood as 'house of beer-drinking' (or 'beer-feasting'). The reason for this divergence is easily perceived: it lies in the Syriac equivalent *bēth meštūthā*, apparently 'house of drinking', since *meštūthā* is a derivative of *štī* 'to drink'. These appearances are deceptive: although that is an admissible translation, in fact *meštūthā* as often as not means 'wedding'. Brockelmann cites more passages for 'nuptiae' than for 'compositio, symposium', and has *συμπόσιον* and *νυμφών* impartially for *bēth m°*; a notable phrase is *gnaβ meštūthāh*, literally 'he stole her *m°*', in the sense of *defloravit*. This usage is not confined to Syriac; thus in the Babylonian Talmud *meštūthā* 'das Trinken, Gelage; insbesondere: Hochzeitsmahl' (Levy, III, 292); cf. Hebr. *mištāh* 'das Trinken, Getränk, Gelage, συμπόσιον; zumeist jedoch: Hochzeitsmahl' (ibid., 291).

It might be opined that the translators, faced with the ambiguous *m°*, persistently chose the wrong meaning. This is in itself unlikely. Those translators possessed a highly competent knowledge of Syriac, which was probably their mother-tongue, and particularly so far as gospel texts are in question, where a well-established tradition existed, the chance of a misunderstanding is remote. It is put out of court through the Manichaean passages, neither of which admits a meaning other than 'wedding'.

Even though the Sogdian word may connote 'bridal chamber', and in spite of the persuasion exercised by Syr. *bēth*- (in one passage only), one is reluctant to admit that its final part *-qt(-)* etc. is the word for 'house'. Here again the Manichaean texts guard us against rashly assuming that the compound was merely a *calque* of the Syriac in the Luke text, an invention perhaps of Christian missionaries produced in response to translators' needs. The compound existed in the Sogdian language beforehand and was put to employment by Christian authors as well as others. We are free to judge it on internal evidence: the Manichaean scribes spelled *'krt* beside *-kt'kw*, thereby indicating earlier *-kṛta(ka-)*; in Chr. Sogd. both earlier *-kṛta-* and *-kata-* appear as *-qt-*. However, although the orthography was ambiguous, there was a clear distinction in the language: the one was *kt-*, the other *kat-*. This difference, which is normally marked in most systems of Sogdian writing, persisted throughout the history of the Sogdian language and still survives in Yaghnobi, *ikt-* 'to make': *kat*

⁷ *nwyštyt* in the edition is probably misprinted.

⁸ *Tr. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 133 sqq., 154; *Annali Ist. Univ. Or. Napoli, Sez. Ling.*, I, 2, 1959, 133-44.

'house'. By writing 'krty'⁹ the Manichaean tells us that he pronounced -kt-; we should respect his opinion.

II

As already mentioned, H. W. Bailey assumed that the first part of the Sogdian word (*bγ'nyšp*- etc.) meant 'beer-drinking' or 'beer-feasting', to consist of **bγ'ny* 'beer' and **šp* / *pš*,¹⁰ reflecting a verbal base 'to sate oneself, to feast', both otherwise unknown to Sogdian.¹¹ The word *meštūbā*, by itself, gives no hint of the potable involved, but the passages adduced in full in Jacob Levy's dictionary invite the inference that wine was *de rigueur* at any occasion that deserved that name. It may be dangerous to generalize, but there is plentiful evidence to show that the Iranians, before Islam (and long after it as well), were a nation of wine-drinkers.¹² Almost all the documents we have from Parthian times (Nisa, Awroman) deal with wine and vineyards. Strabo speaks of the wine of Areia (Herāt), which was good enough to keep for three generations, and praises the vines of Margiane and Hyrcania (C 73, 516). The Sassanian child prodigy could rattle off a list of vintages as well as any wine waiter and was ready to dilate on the requisite accompaniment (*Pahl. texts*, 32 sq., §§ 56-9, 66). Where is beer so much as mentioned? Some years ago I located a passage in the Pahlavi *Kārnamag*¹³ in which a kind of beer (*wašak*) is referred to¹⁴: 'they had no wine, but brought beer forward...'; which suffices to show that beer was considered a poor substitute.

Sogdiane was a wine-land even in Achaemenian times. Chorienes, at his surrender, could give a sufficiency of wine to every man in Alexander's army and still had ten times as much in his cellars, and that after a siege (Arrian, iv, 21, 10). From Sogdian lands¹⁵ viniculture spread across Central Asia to China.¹⁶ Sogdiane came to be the first centre of classical Persian poetry, which is drenched in wine; Persian *mul* 'wine', an emotion-laden word of the devotee's, coexisting

⁹ The prosthetic vowel (*əkt*-), which is commonly marked in Man. orthography, is expressed here only because the scribe began a fresh line with the final part of the compound; it is naturally absent when the final is joined with the main body.

¹⁰ *Annali*, I, 2, 1959, 137. As arises from the preceding annotation, -*šp*- does not exist.

¹¹ H. W. Bailey regarded Sogd. '*sp'nt*-' (MPers. *aspin*ʃ, Pers. *sipan*ʃ etc.) as a distant relative. However, that may be a derivative of MPers. *asp*- (Man. *hasp*-) 'to rest', *aspin* (Man. *hspyn*) sbst. 'rest' (in Pahl. e.g. *Dd.*, 36.17; *DkM.*, 161.3; in Pazend *ŠGV*), so that *sipan*ʃ would mean 'rest-house' even by etymology. The Mugh material has now shown that *spnčyrspn* consists of *spnčy* + (')*rspn*; the alternative spelling *spynč'rspn*-t[y] of *ST*, I, 84, 5, indicated that already.

¹² I can do no better than refer to H. W. Bailey's masterly paper '*Madu*' (*Silver jubilee volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo, Kyoto University*, 1954).

¹³ *BSOAS*, xvii, 3, 1955, 603 sq.

¹⁴ The other passage discussed there (*PT*, 113.4) is too involved in various difficulties to be relied on.

¹⁵ 'Les gens de ces diverses principautés [of Sogdiane] aiment le vin', T'ang-shu *ap. Chavannes, Doc.*, 134. The Mugh documents abundantly confirm that observation, see e.g. Mugh B 2 (Freiman, *Problemi Vostokovedeniya*, I, 1959, 120 sq.).

¹⁶ See Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*; Bailey, '*Madu*'; E. H. Schafer, *Golden peaches*, 141 sqq. Laufer was the first to suggest that Chin. *p'u-t'ao* represented 'a dialectic form of Avestan *maḍav*' (p. 225); I thought the dialect was Sogdian, *BSOS*, x, 1, 1939, p. 98, n. 3.

with the etymologically identical but more sober *may*, was a loan from Sogdian.¹⁷ Beer, on the other hand, was lowly regarded. Asadi says it causes belching.¹⁸ According to Rhazes, beer made of barley damaged the nerves, produced headaches, etc. Muwaffaq went further and claimed that beer, apart from causing borborygmus, sickness, and the like, was responsible for nothing less than leprosy.¹⁹ If in an old wine-land, as Sogdiane was, a rich man, at the acme of life and power, had given his guests a 'beer-feast' on the occasion of his children's marriage (as in the 'Job story'), would they have cheered him and praised his name? He would have deserved the dismal fate that lay before him.

The nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes that roamed the steppes to the north of the Iranian settlements perforce had to make do with beer. Their political ascendancy and cultural penetration led to acquaintance with new types of beverage, and their names entered Iranian languages. They range from Sogdian *zwtk*, of Scythian origin,²⁰ to Tajiki *būza*, from Kirgiz *boza*. To this category belongs Khwarezmian *bkn̄y*, which is necessarily²¹ loan-word from Turkish, where *bāk(i)ni* is well-established. Ossetic *bāgāni* and *maxsimā* are equally best considered borrowings from Turkish neighbours.²² With Oss. *bāgāni* and Sogd. *βγ'ny H. W. Bailey combined Khot. *bviys(a)na*, which occurs only in a list of three presents, (1) *haurā*, (2) *b°*, (3) *ha'mi'tcī*.²³ Even if the first is, as claimed,²⁴ an alternative spelling of Khot. *hurā* (an alcoholic drink), we need not take it for granted that the other items, too, must be drinkables. When three gifts are named of which one is wine (or the like), the other two are apt to be (a) meat and (b) bread. The ambassador sent by Arshām to Egypt was to receive (a) a lamb and (b) two kinds of flour, in addition to beer.²⁵ King Shapur made grants, to sacred fires, of daily gifts of (a) a yearling lamb and (b) bread, in addition to wine.²⁶ Chorienes, in the passage quoted above, distributed *σίτόν τε καὶ οἶνον . . . κρέα τε ταριχηρά*. In the light of such parallel situations one could interpret the two unknown items differently, namely (a) *ha'mi'tcī* as a kind of pickled (raw) meat,²⁷ a famous Sassanian delicacy called *hāmīč* in Pahlavi, which was widely borrowed;²⁸ and (b) *bviys(a)na* as finely extracted flour,

¹⁷ *BSOS*, x, 1, 1939, 98.

¹⁸ S.v. *ārūy*, p. 57.13, ed. Horn; see his preface p. 13, n.

¹⁹ *K. al-abniyah*, 189 (where Rhazes is cited).

²⁰ *BSOAS*, xi, 4, 1946, 719 sq. It owes its frequency to having been employed as translation-equivalent of Skt. *madya*.

²¹ It is impossible to construct an Old Iranian form from which it could descend.

²² According to Bailey, *Annali*, i, 2, 1959, 136, both are primarily loan-words in Ossetic, but ultimately of Iranian origin.

²³ *Annali*, i, 2, 1959, 133 sqq.

²⁴ Elsewhere, *haurā* is the ordinary word for 'gift' in general.

²⁵ G. R. Driver, *Aram. doc.*, No. 6.

²⁶ Great inscription of Shapur, Pahl. lines 25, 27; cf. *Jackson mem. vol.*, 42 sq.

²⁷ H. W. Bailey assumed 'barley-yeast' instead, later (*BSOAS*, xxiii, 1, 1960, 28) 'a drink made of fermented barley'.

²⁸ *Pahl. texts*, p. 30, §§ 33–5, and p. 33, § 66. Persian *xāmīz* (used also in Arabic, in Tha'ālibī's *Ghurur*, 707.2). For other languages see Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 96, s.v. *amič*; Talm. 'wmš', explained as 'raw meat' Levy i, 41, should be added. The persistent definition as 'raw meat pickled in vinegar etc.' speaks for the derivation from *āma-* (*xām*) 'raw'.

remounting to *vi* (*abi*?) + *vaičana*;²⁹ cf. Persian *parvīzan* 'sieve' from *pari-vaičana*-. However, so long as the meaning of those words cannot be established more directly, their origin is bound to remain in the realm of conjecture.

III

If our Sogdian word in truth means 'wedding', how can we explain it? The various ways in which the scribes divide it in writing indicate that it consists of three parts: $\beta\gamma'ny$, $pš/šp$, and $'krty$ (etc.). The central portion poses the greatest difficulty. Original $fš$ may become $šf$ or, in final position, $šp$ in Sogdian,³⁰ but no case is known of former $šf$ ($šp$) being transposed into $fš$ ($pš$) in that language.³¹ Hence it will be prudent to regard $pš$ as original in the unusual alternation $pš/šp$. There must have been once a vocalic element to separate the consonants: $*pəš$ became $pš$, which could be transposed into $šp$. The reduced vowel of $*pəš$ should represent a full vowel in Old Iranian, preferably $-u-$ or $-i-$, and $-š-$ may reflect several OIr. consonants and clusters.³² Consequently, there is a variety of Old Iranian words, existing and reconstructed, which would have produced $*pəš$ in Sogdian. Guided by Sogd. $wyšpšyy$, $\beta\gamma pšyy$ etc., I once compared $*pəš$ with *puθra*- 'son'.³³ However, that may not convey the sense we need for the compound. Accordingly, I would now connect the word with Av.

²⁹ A special study on the Khotanese preverbs is an urgent desideratum. The distribution of *vi*, *abi*, *ava*, *apa*, *upa*, and *pati* in particular is in need of clarification. Etymologists increasingly operate with OIr. *pa-*, a counsel of despair. We have seen that in Sogdian, e.g., every apparent *pa*- reflects antecedent *apa-* or *upa-* (or, rarely, *pati-*). It is an error to rely here on Armenian, where *pa-* was first recognized as a separable element, in Iranian loan-words, by A. Meillet, *REA*, II, 1922, 6; cf. E. Benveniste, *Ét. langue oss.*, 99 sqq., who has several fresh examples but takes a different view from mine. That surely reflects Iranian *upa-*, with loss of initial *u-* in accord with a well-established rule, from which case-forms and derivatives of monosyllables alone are exempt. Naturally this applies only to the oldest layer of loan-words; for later on initial *u-* was replaced by *a-* in Western Middle Iranian (hence, e.g., *apart'an*). A telling example is Arm. *pačar-k'* 'device' where *u* in the Ir. original is directly attested through Aram. *'wpšr* (see my 'Mitteliranisch', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, IV, 1, 1958, p. 39, n. 4). Arm. *pēt-k'* 'need' is identical with Parth. *'byd*, both from *upēt-* (cf. MPers. *'b'y-*, ever derived from *upa-i-*). Further *paran* 'lassoo' from *upa-dāna*- (cf. *abi-dāna* 'bridle' and *pari-dāna* 'saddle', *JRAS*, 1944, p. 140, n. 1); *paxrē* 'χαῖμα', Sogd. *pxxy*, *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, p. 468, n. 5, from *xrī-* 'buy'; *pastar* 'blanket', evidently = Av. *upastarana-* (rejected by Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 222); *parēt* 'ἐφόπος' from *upadēt-* (cf. Arm. *dēt*); the words adduced by Meillet and Benveniste; and several uncertain ones. Clear examples of loss of initial *u-* are *zgoiš* 'circumspect' from *uzgauša-*, and *zraw-* 'terminate', from *uz* + *raw-* (as in Pers. *raftan*), cf. Man. MPers. *'zrw-* 'go out, end' (e.g. *k' cr'h* . . . *'zrwyd* 'when the lamp goes out'; *dwšwx* *'dwryn* *'y ny* *'zrwwyd* 'hell-fire that never comes to an end'); the last-named was judged differently by H. W. Bailey, *Tr. Phil. Soc.*, 1953, 37.

³⁰ See Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, §§ 314, 441.

³¹ This does occur in other Iranian languages.

³² $-θy-$ must be struck off the list; for $\gamma\delta rp-$ is now confirmed through the Mugh letters, and $pš'br$, in spite of occasional $pyš$ -, had originally $-a-$ as first vowel, therefore cannot belong to Av. *piθwā-*: that is proved by Arm. *pašar*, which reflects a contracted form, $*pašār$.

³³ *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, p. 486, n. 1. The word for 'bridegroom' mentioned there is far more likely to read $pyš'k$ (than $pyš'k$), thus hardly enters into consideration (its resemblance to Arm. *p'esay* may be coincidental). The wording of the Middle Persian verse (above, p. 242) may yet be held to favour retention of the connexion with *puθra*: *pwsryn* (*r'y*) *wdwdg'n* *qyrd* (hence *wdwdg'n* = $\beta\gamma'ny$, *pwsr* = $pš$, *qyrd* = $'krty$).

pisra.³⁴ 'welding, the place or instrument of welding'. Whether a wider meaning ('joining, uniting, fusion') has been specialized in Avestan, or a narrow meaning ('welding') widened by metaphorical use (cf. Engl. weld = 'to unite closely or intimately'), is a question that need not detain us.

In considering *βγ'ny-* we should not lose sight of its obvious association with *βγ'nyk* 'divine', from which it is distinguished merely by the lack of a *k*-suffix, not to be expected in a longish compound in any case. With its help we can proceed to a phonetical reconstruction of the word: *βγānī-pāš-aktē*,³⁵ with reduced vowels subject to elision, hence also *βγānīpš-*, and by metathesis *βγānīšpaktē*. We further gain an etymological meaning: 'divine-union-making', which may be considered not unsuitable to expressing the idea of a 'wedding'.

Such a basic meaning will at once provoke a doubt: it would imply that the Sogdians believed that 'marriages are made in Heaven', than which nothing could be more unlikely. Here we may find the reason for the reluctance of scholars to connect our word with *βγ'nyk*. Nevertheless, it will supply the true etymon. *βγ'nyk* is an adjective formed from *βγ-* 'god', and, since it has cognates in Parthian (*bg'nyg*) and Middle Persian (*by'nyg*), must be of ancient vintage. While *βγ-* ordinarily was an appellative, it did, however, also exist as the individual name of a divinity, then corresponding with the Indian god *Bhaga* (= Iran. *Baga*). The hypothesis I wish to put forward is this, that in the Sogdian compound *βγ'ny-* means not simply 'divine', but 'referring to, associated with the god *Baga*'.

'Baga-union' is not surprising as a term for 'marriage', if the Iranian *Baga* in the least resembled his Indian counterpart, whom Geldner, in introducing the hymn addressed to him, RV, VII, 41, briefly described as 'personified happiness, and the god of happiness'. Böhlingk and Roth stated that *Bhaga stiftet Liebe und Ehebündniss . . . sein Nakṣatra sind die späteren (uttara-) Phalgunī, die sich zu Eheschliessungen besonders eignen . . .*, and gave, among the meanings of *bhaga*- n., 'Liebesglück, Liebeslust, Liebe, Zuneigung', with such clear R̥gvedic passages as I, 163, 8; x, 11, 6. In hymns concerned with married life, such as the song of the married couple, VIII, 31, and the wedding psalm, x, 85, *Bhaga* has a leading rôle. As a genius of domesticity he was closely associated with Aryaman, cf. P. Thieme, *Fremdling*, 124, 142.³⁶ We may thus assume that

³⁴ On Sogd. *š* from *sr* see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, § 371.

³⁵ On '*krti*' (etc.) see above, pp. 243-4. The modes of spelling the word-final (Man. -*ty*, -*t'k*; Chr. -*ty*, -*t*) are self-contradictory; they both demand and exclude -*ē* from -*ak*. One may question the reading in *Bln. sogd. T*, II, 884, 17, which would necessitate regarding -*y* as a case-ending and -*'k* as a mistake. The precise form of *kar-* cannot be determined securely. Apparently *krtā-ka-*; *krti-* (Sogd. '*krti*h', Man. '*kty*', Chr. *qty*' Benveniste, *JA*, CCXLVII, 1, 1959, 131 sq.) should have fem. -*h* in Sogd. script and never appears as -*kt*, see Gershevitch, *Tr. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 141.

³⁶ M. G. Dumézil sees the distinction between Aryaman and *Bhaga* as parallel to that between *personae* and *res*: 'sous Mitra . . . Aryaman s'occupe de maintenir la société des hommes arya . . . et *Bhaga* . . . assure la distribution et la jouissance régulières des biens des Arya' (*L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens*, 1958, 68; in greater detail *Les dieux des Indo-Européens*, 1952, 47 sqq., esp. p. 54). This view does not sufficiently account for *Bhaga*'s interest in marriage, the very foundation of society.

Bhaga was regarded as a promoter and protector of marriage even in the Indo-Iranian period. A fresh piece of evidence, supporting that assumption, can now be presented.

IV

Thanks chiefly to the efforts of V. A. Livshitz, great progress has been achieved in recent years in the study of the Sogdian documents that had been discovered, in 1933, on Mount Mugh, some 80 miles to the east of Samarkand. Under his hands the find turned out to be more important even than one had been given reason to suspect; his decipherment is throughout trustworthy, in marked improvement on earlier efforts. One of the documents Livshitz has made available is the 'Marriage contract', which illuminates social conditions in Sogdiane at the last moment of her independence (beg. of the eighth century) and ranks as one of the most interesting monuments of the ancient Iranian civilization. It was first published in *Sov'etskaya Etnografiya*, No. 5, 1960, 76-91; I. Gershevitch contributed some useful remarks to its interpretation, *Central Asiatic Journal*, VII, 2, 1962, 90-94; finally it was included, with an elaborate commentary, in Livshitz, *Yuridičeskie dokumenty i pis'ma*, 1962, 17-45.

The 'Marriage contract' consists of two separate documents, preserved together by a kindly fate: the contract proper, and the subsidiary 'bride's script (*pwstlk*)', in which the bridegroom, speaking in the first person, addresses the head of the bride's family ('you' or 'Sir') in order to state his obligations. Here we meet the following sentence (Nov. 4, R 10-12):

rtβγ ZKn βγγ ZY ZKn myδr' nβ'nty L' pr'yδ'nk'm L' np'kh L' wn''kh L'
''pty kwn'mk'm

'And, Sir, by Baga and by Mithra! I shall neither sell her nor pawn ³⁷ her, nor ³⁸ . . .'

A verbal form ('I swear'), although not strictly necessary, may be considered implied from the preceding sentence 'And then to you, Čēr, I thus profess and accept . . .'. Mithra has been recognized here, but not Baga, it having been supposed that βγγ meant 'Sir' (as it commonly does in the Mugh documents) and referred to Čēr, the representative of the bride. Yet to couple a mere man with the ancient god Mithra, who watches over the sanctity of agreements, would be highly incongruous, and to invoke the 'party of the other part' as witness, against custom; moreover, since Čēr is already mentioned as (*rt*-)βγ ('(and,) Sir' within the sentence and as *tw*' (. . . *mnz'nw*) '(to) you (I profess)' immediately before it, such a further reference would be tautological. The postposition *nβ'nt*, which generally means 'in the company of, together with, by the side of', should be rendered as 'by' here, as e.g. in the comparable passage of the *Vessantara Jātaka* (1208) to which Gershevitch, loc. cit., 92 has justly drawn attention; German *bei* is a perfect equivalent.

³⁷ Thus rather than 'hostage'; *np'k-* has both meanings, as has Pers. *navā*, which should be added (Khwar. *nb'k* = Arab. *rahn*).

³⁸ The remaining words are not wholly clear.

The appellative *baga*- 'god' came to be applied to the Great King of Kings of the Persians initially. Later it suffered a social decline, which was most marked in Sogdiane. The local king adopted it, then the kinglet, then the owner of a castle, finally any gentleman laid claim to it. Yet at the same time Sogd. $\beta\gamma$ - continued as designation of the ancient divinities, and the representatives of monotheistic religions, as the Christian missionaries, used it of 'God' with a capital letter. This situation is mirrored in the Mugh documents, in which religion ordinarily plays no part and $\beta\gamma$ - almost exclusively is used of men of some social standing; as Livshitz has observed, it is often hardly better than a circumlocutory way of saying 'you'.³⁹ Here too, on occasion, $\beta\gamma$ - means 'God'.⁴⁰ Thus twice in the remarkable letter which the Arab Emīr 'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. Šubḥ addressed to King *Δēwāštīč* (Livshitz, p. 111). Above that letter stand the words *prn'm βγγ δ'mδ'nk* (?) 'in the name of God, the Creator', a form of the *Bismillāh*,⁴¹ and the address is followed immediately by 'sp's *ZKn βγγ* = *al-ḥamdu lillāh* = Pers. *sipās xudāyārā*, words without which no good Muslim would begin his letter. Livshitz supposed that the second $\betaγγ$ was to refer to the Sogdian king. Actually, the Arab Emīr carefully avoided thus addressing a human being: he just said 'you' (*tyw*, *tw*, etc.) throughout that letter of 23 long lines, in which a native author would have written $\beta\gamma$ - at least a dozen times. This avoidance, which the recipient must have felt to be a breach of good manners, was calculated: the Muslims strongly disapproved of that Sogdian idiomatic usage, and, although they were aware of its nature, were not above twisting it, on a later occasion, into the charge of self-deification, against Ḥaidar, the prince of Ušrūšana.

V

After all that has been written in recent years on Mithra as the god of agreements and treaties we need not waste words over his appearance in an actual contract. What is noteworthy is his close association with Baga, who, as Bhaga, was an old companion of Mitra's in the R̥gveda, but one of minor rank. His

³⁹ See Livshitz, pp. 41, 81.

⁴⁰ Passages where that meaning is applicable are: A 17, line 1; V 15, lines 6 and 7 (cf. Livshitz, pp. 162, 169). Less clear is $\betaγγ$ in A 13, line 2 (Livshitz, p. 69; cf. M. N. Bogolyubov and O. I. Smirnova, *Xozyaystvennie dokumenty*, 1963, p. 71). Neither can *ZY βγγ* be the same as *ZYβγγ*, nor can $\betaγγ$ function as an accusative after *kw* (should be $\betaγγw$). The word following $\betaγγ$ has been variously read as *pr'w*, *pβ'w*, and *pryw*; of these, the second and third may be discarded as misreadings ('beloved lord' in the address of a letter would also be an oddity), but the first, producing an impossible sequence, *pr'w rty c'nkw*, is no better (*rty* is not = *ZY*). The only way out of this desperate situation is to propose a fourth reading: *prnw* (which is technically unobjectionable), and take $\betaγγ$ -*prnw* (distributed on successive lines) as the acc. of a personal name, $\betaγγ$ -*prn*, which occurs precisely so in the *Mahrnāmag*, line 87 (in Manich. script naturally $\betaγγfrn$). The letter was thus addressed to *Try'n* and $\betaγγprn$, two persons, as required in any case to account for the plural form of the verbs. Tarxān and Bagēfarn were bankers, and the letter is a bank draft. I do not recall expressing the opinion attributed to me by Livshitz, p. 69, n. 29, concerning the word read *cnkw* by Freiman (in line 5).

⁴¹ So also in a fragmentary letter, Livshitz, p. 221.

prominence in the 'Marriage contract' may be ascribed primarily to his special interest in marriage as a social institution. Yet this does not fully account for his being given the first place, in the invocation, over his ancient overlord. Similar placing and pairing could be detected in the Eastern Iranian name **Bag(a)mīhr* (*Vakamīhira* at Mathurā),⁴² if it were to be understood as ' (given by, or devoted to) Baga and Mithra ' ; for names of similar structure, as *Ršnmtr* ' Rašnu and Mithra ' in Parthian,⁴³ or *Tīr-mīhr*,⁴⁴ *Mīhr-ōhrmazd*, *Māh-ōhrmazd*, *Mīhr-māh*, etc., in the West, indicate that the god Baga, not the appellative, forms part of it.

These questions take us back to an old controversy into which I entered, twenty years ago, with a paper on the magophony.⁴⁵ In it I argued against the exaggeration of Marquart's view that *Baga* (or *baga*) was just another name for Mithra, but saw myself forced to admit that the equation was true, in a limited sense, if restricted to Sogdiane and Khwarezm. It is clear now that even that concession was unnecessary. In Sogdiane, at any rate, Baga and Mithra were not 'identical' with each other, but rather a pair of close companions, perhaps competitors for popular favour, and of the two Baga came to be more highly esteemed. Thus it came to pass that the feast of Mithra which was called *Miθrakāna* in Persia was dedicated to Baga in Sogdiane and hence named **Bagakāna* ; which then supplied the name of the seventh month in Sogdian (*βγk'n*). In the designation of the day sacred to Mithra, the sixteenth of each month, Mithra's name was kept in Sogdiane generally ;⁴⁶ but Baga's replaced it in Khwarezm, also in the Sogdian calendar list found among the Mugh material,⁴⁷ which, however, shows strong Khwarezmian influence.⁴⁸

It would take us too far afield to give more than casual heed to the question of the impact of Zoroaster's teachings on the native paganism of Sogdiane. The situation in the eastern uplands, in Buttamān and Ušrūšana, will have differed markedly from that obtaining in the city states of the West, where higher civilization, nourished by international traffic, was flourishing, and where all the religions of Asia had a foothold of sorts. In the Mugh documents we meet both the *mwypt*- 'chief magus' and the *βγnpt*- 'lord of the temple', indicating a dichotomy comparable to that in Persia (*Mōbed* : *bšnbyd*) or Armenia (*mogpet* : *bagnapet*).⁴⁹ Typically Zoroastrian words often turn out to be borrowings, sometimes fairly ancient ones, as Zoroaster's name (*Zrušć*), *Aryān-waižan* ⁵⁰ (a popular distortion of *Aryana-Vaējah*), and, more importantly, the *Amašā*

⁴² cf. H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 422 ; H. Lüders, *Mathurā inscriptions*, ed. K. L. Janert, 1961, 95.

⁴³ I. M. Diakonoff and V. A. Livshitz, *Dokumenty iz Nisī*, 1960, 24.

⁴⁴ cf. *BSOAS*, xxiv, 2, 1961, 191, where I suggested ' (trusting in) a contract of alliance with Tīr(i) ' (which could be applied also to **Bag(a)mīhr*).

⁴⁵ *JRAS*, 1944, 133 sqq.

⁴⁶ *Orientalia*, NS, viii, 1939, 95.

⁴⁷ Livshitz, loc. cit., p. 63, n. 37.

⁴⁸ As arises from the enumeration of the lunar mansions, see *JRAS*, 1942, 242.

⁴⁹ Used by Grigor Magistros (*Nor batgirk'*) ; hitherto overlooked.

⁵⁰ *BSOAS*, xi, 1, 1943, 68 (line 26).

Spēnta (*mrδ'spnt*); but there is a seemingly indigenous word for the Gāthās (*pncw γ'δh* 'the five G.'). Of the *Aməšā Spēnta*⁵¹ two are never mentioned (*Vohu Manah* and *Xšaθra Vairya*) and two are used in a sense we cannot determine: *hrwūt mrwūt*,⁵² compared with the Islamic angels *Hārūt Mārūt* and the Armenian flower-names *Hauraut Mauraut*.⁵³ *Z'yy spnd'rmt* is the 'Genius of the Earth' in Manichaeism, but *sp'nt'rmδz'y* in a Buddhist fragment is simply 'earth';⁵⁴ here Khot. *śśandrāmātā*⁵⁵ and Arm. *Sandaramet* indicate that the meaning 'spirit of the Earth' is older than Zoroaster. A similar claim may be made for *Aša vahišta*: the Manichaean elements (ether, air, light, water, fire) are in Parthian *'rd'w frwrdyn*, *w'd*, *rwšn*, *'b*, *'dwr*, but in Sogdian *'rt'w frwrtyy*, *w't*, *'rtxwšt*, *'p*, *'tr*, so that *'rtxwšt* replaced 'light' rather than 'fire', as one would expect.⁵⁶ The adoption of the 'Young-Avestan' calendar, which together with its nomenclature had been imposed by decree of the Achaemenian government, does not imply conversion to Zoroaster's creed.⁵⁷ Actually, the Sogdians allowed themselves some latitude, substituted names of their own for most of the months, and invented fresh ones for the epagomenae;⁵⁸ which shows little regard for the *Aməšā Spēnta* and lack of familiarity with the Gāthās.⁵⁹

It seems that the *βynpt-* was more important to Sogdian life than the *mwgypt-*. He alone figures in the 'Ancient Letters', which precede the Mugh documents by 400 years, and the temples (*βyn-*) in which he officiated abounded in Sog-

⁵¹ Not counting their appearance as day-names.

⁵² *Sogdica*, p. 16, line 16, and p. 19, where Stackelberg, *WZKM*, xii, 1898, 244, should have been cited. On *'rutprn-* cf. *BSOAS*, xi, 4, 1946, 737; now *'rutprnc* also at Mugh.

⁵³ Agathangelos, p. 325, line 13, ed. Tiflis, 1914.

⁵⁴ *smyr yry 'wy' sp'nt'rmδz'y cyntr tyst* 'he enters into the earth of Mount Sumeru' P 16, 36; cf. Khwar. *spnd'rmd* = Arab. *ard* 'earth'.

⁵⁵ H. W. Bailey, 'Languages of the Saka', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, iv, 1, 1958, 134.

⁵⁶ The problem is twofold: (a) why did the Manichaeans not use *rwšny'k* 'light' here, as they did elsewhere (the answer supplied by Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Manich. Dogm.*, 564 sq., does not carry conviction); and (b) if they wished to avoid *rwšny'k*, why did they choose *'rtxwšt*, which, if it was regarded as 'Genius of the Fire' in Sogdian, too, was particularly unfitted for service as 'light' in a list of elements that included fire?

⁵⁷ cf. I. Gershevitch, *The Av. hymn to Mithra*, 19.

⁵⁸ Al-Beruni has two separate series (*Chron.*, 47.1-3), both corrupt. In the Mugh material a single name occurs, *'rtxwšt rwc* A 4, R 2, 4 (the edition by Bogolyubov-Smirnova, loc. cit., p. 60, follows the reading proposed in *Orientalia*, NS, viii, 1939, 90, without acknowledgment). Freiman originally identified it with the fifth day of Series A, which I accepted. However, the resemblance to al-Beruni's form is too slight altogether. I would now assume that at Mugh the ordinary day-names (1-5) were used also for the epagomenae, so that *'rtxwšt rwc* of the 'month' *MN-wp'nc'k* was the 363rd day of the Sogdian year. A name allegedly belonging to Series B (No. 3), *srδycrt*, has been read by Bogolyubov-Smirnova, p. 43, whose edition of Mugh B 1 has been justly criticized by Livshitz, 219 sq., who reads *myδyck* (as a personal name). Such a mixture of calendar systems would be highly unlikely in any case.

⁵⁹ Other points deserving attention include: the absence of *yazata-* (*yzt'* *BSOAS*, xi, 4, 1946, 737, on 185/6, is doubtful); the function of *fravaši-* (*prwrt* in a Manich. text as 'soul' or part of a soul, *JRAS*, 1944, p. 137, n. 7; but in Christian Sogd. *frwrt* = 'grave', *frwrt-qty* = 'tomb'; Manich. *'rt'w frwrtyy* as element merely reflects Parth. *'rd'w frwrdyn*); **bagadānaka-* 'altar'; *žwšy/δr'wšyh* as 'bloody sacrifice' (like Arm. *zoh*) against Av. *zaoθrā*, see Gershevitch, *JRAS*, 1946, 183; etc.

diane.⁶⁰ Most of the divine beings that constitute the Iranian pantheon are represented, some only through personal names : from Ahura-mazdāh ('*γwrmzt-*, *xwrmzt-*) and Zrvān ('*zrw'*), Miθra (*mšy*, *mšy*) and Vərəθraϥna (*wšyñ-*), Narya-saṃha (*nryšñx*) and Māh (*m'γ*, *m'x*), Aši-vaṇuhī ('*rtyxw*)⁶¹ and Druvāspa (or Druvāspā ? *δrw'sp*),⁶² Haoma (*γwm*)⁶³ and X'arənah (*prn*), Tištriya (*tyš*)⁶⁴ and Yima (*ymyh*),⁶⁵ down to the water-sprite Gandarva (*wp'p-γntrw*).⁶⁶ The greatest of all divinities, it seems, was Nana(i) the Lady,⁶⁷ whose presence, like that of Druvāspa = *Λποοασπο*, constitutes an important link with the Bactrian religion as known through the coinage of Kanishka and Huvishka ; she was also the city-goddess of Panjikant.⁶⁸ In addition, there were some gods that are not readily identifiable, such as *rywaxš/ryw'γš* (*Rēwaxš* ?),⁶⁹ who resembles the

⁶⁰ cf. W. Barthold's remark on the frequency of place-names ending in *-fayn* (*Turkestan*, p. 120, n. 6) = Sogd. *βγn-*. One of them, *xšw-fyn* 'the six temples', is apposite (see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, 64). Arm. *bagin* excludes **bagana-*, **baganya-*, etc., and demands **bagina-*, which meets all requirements (incl. those of Mathurā *bakanapati*, recognized by H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 420 sq., which reflects a form with reduced vowels, **βayna-*, **βayna-*) ; it has been approved by Wackernagel-Debrunner, II, 2, 352.

⁶¹ '*rtyxw-βntk*, 'Ancient Letters', II, 35, *BSOAS*, xii, 3-4, 1948, p. 607, n. 5, = 'the slave of A.'. A misunderstanding has been caused by *βntk* elsewhere. Livshitz, p. 54, n. 6, claimed that in an inscription he had published in *Izv. Otd. Obšč. Nauk AN Tadž. SSR*, 14, 1957, 101 sq., a word which was 'clearly' (ясно) *βntk* had been wrongly read *βn-snk* by me in 'Mitteliranisch', p. 130. However, I have never even seen the cited article and have no access to the periodical in question. The inscription I referred to had been published, three years earlier, by A. M. Belenitzkiy, whose photograph shows a plain *-s-*, markedly different from *-t-* in the preceding line ; in shape it resembles the *-s-* in the SCE.

⁶² *δrw'sp-βntk* 'the slave of D.', 'Anc. Lett.'. Cf. Arm. *Druasp* (shortened name, like *Hormizd*, *Bahrām*, etc.).

⁶³ *γwmδ't* (Mugh) ; on the plant (*xwm*) see 'Mitteliranisch', 85.

⁶⁴ *Tišfarn* (Mahnāmag), *Tišdāt* (Mugh), and others, cf. Livshitz, p. 63.

⁶⁵ *BSOAS*, xi, 1, 1943, 74.

⁶⁶ *BSOAS*, xi, 3, 1945, p. 482, n. 3.

⁶⁷ In a Manichaean fragment published in *JRAS*, 1944, 142-4 (cf. also p. 137), *Nnδβ'mbn* 'Nana the Lady' mourns somebody's death on a bridge, in spectacular fashion. An undated Chinese memorandum (about A.D. 600 ?) on the customs of the people of K'ang, translated by Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 133, n., may be called upon to identify the cause of her sorrow : it was the death of Adonis-Tammūz. 'Ils ont coutume de rendre un culte au dieu céleste et l'honorent extrêmement. Ils disent que l'enfant divin est mort le septième mois et qu'on a perdu son corps . . . les hommes chargés de rendre un culte au dieu . . . revêtent tous des habits noirs . . . vont pieds nus, se frappant la poitrine et se lamentant ; . . . des hommes et des femmes . . . se dispersent dans la campagne pour rechercher le corps de l'enfant céleste ; le septième jour, (cette cérémonie) prend fin'. This is a fair description of *Adonia*, which took place at the height of the summer : the seventh (Chinese) month began at the end of July or in August. The possibility that *Kūyūne*, the son of Ahriman 'was a Sogdian version of Adonis should now be considered. Sacrificing on a bridge : cf. Herod., vii, 54 ; Ammian-Marc., xviii, 7, 1 ; cutting off ears : cf. Sūrah, iv, 118 ; laceration of faces : al-Beruni, *Chron.*, 235.10, at the Sogd. equivalent of the *Frawardīgān*.

⁶⁸ *Pncy nnδβ'mpnh* on coins, see O. I. Smirnova, *Katalog monet s gorodišča Pendžikent*, 1963, Nos. 356-463. This reading (which inevitably is obvious to the editor of the Manichaean fragment mentioned above) has also been recognized by O. I. Smirnova, acc. to a hand-written note in her *Katalog*. It is a pity that the discovery came too late to help in the attribution of the coins ; they may belong to *Δēwāštiš*, whose absence from the coinage of his country it would be difficult to understand. The reading of several other names appearing on the coins ('Amogyan', 'Vidyān', etc.) will also have to be revised.

⁶⁹ *Rēwaxš-yān* 'gift of R.' (Mahnāmag, Mugh).

Bactrian *Απαειχπο* (*Απαειχπο*); *Taxsīč* (*tax'syc*), known through a Chinese report (*Tak-siet*)⁷⁰ and a personal name in the 'Ancient Letters';⁷¹ possibly *δ'p't* (*δapat* ? *lapat* ?).⁷² Finally, we should mention the wind-god, who is called *w't'rt'w* 'righteous wind' as in the Avesta (*vātahe ašaonō*) and in the Pahlavi *Kārnāmag* (*wād ardā*); a remarkable psalm,⁷³ a Yasht in miniature, is addressed to him, as 'the son of the chief god', in the *Nawa-puste*, the work of the 'Magi of Sughd'.⁷⁴

In such surroundings the survival of Baga as an individual god need not cause surprise, all the less so as even the Daēvas maintained themselves as divinities, at least in a part of Sogdiane. True, in all written Sogdian, native, Buddhist, Manichaean, and Christian alike, *δyw* does mean 'demon' as elsewhere; even in the Mugh material *δywy'kh*, the abstract of the adjective *δyw* which may be from *daiwya-*, denotes some disapproved quality.⁷⁵ Yet, the Mugh proper names preserve the primordial meaning. *Snkδyw* or *S'kδyw* (Nov. 1, R 22) may not be certain enough to come into consideration, but *δywywn* (**daiwagauna*) should surely be interpreted as 'heavenly' (A 9, V 28); in commenting on it, Livshitz, p. 104, mentions *δyw'kk* on an unpublished seal. Most importantly, the name of the king from whose chancellery the Mugh documents emanate: *Δῆwāštīč*, to the superficial view = 'devilish'; it is identical with the adjective *δyw'styc*, which in Manichaean Sogdian contrasts with *xwrmztyc* 'Ahuramazdian', but the king himself and his people will have understood it as 'divine'. He was the ruler of *Panč* (for a few months also king of Sogdiane) and, as the investigations of O. I. Smirnova have shown, his proper dominions lay to the east of his capital, *Pančekanθ* 'the city of *Panč*' (Panjikent), and comprised the mountainous country along the upper course of the Zarafshan river. There we would localize the Sogdians that retained *δyw* in the sense of 'god'. The district adjoining immediately to the north was *Us(t)rūšana*. A prince of that country, who served as a general in the caliph's army towards the end of the ninth century, was called Abu'l-Sāj Dīwdād b. Dīwdast, and his grandson,

⁷⁰ Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 139, n. 3 (cf. p. 312); 'le p'o-lo d'or' is a golden banner (*palā*).

⁷¹ *Tax'syc-βntk* 'the slave of T.', II, 53, 59. Not, of course, 'T., the slave'. The author of the letter, *Nny-βntk* ('the slave of Nanai'), is speaking of his own son. One could draw the inference that Nanai and *Taxsīč* were associates (but T., a rapacious god, whose statue required daily sacrifices of 5 camels, 10 horses, and 100 sheep, was no Adonis). There is no reason, other than partial surface resemblance, for connecting this Sogdian god with the Turkish tribal name *Tuxsī* (V. Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 300). His famed sanctuary may be sought at *Taxsī(č)* in the district of Abghar (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 132), some 20 miles to the north-west of Samarkand; it may have been regarded as part of nearby *Istīzan* = 'Western Ts'ao'.

⁷² cf. *Sogdica*, 7. The resemblance of *δ'p'tsyrh* to *nny-syrh* etc. suggested that *δ'p't* was the name of a divinity (cf. now also *δ'p'tsyr*, Mugh). Yet, as Chr. *d'p't* (*ST*, 1) has been confirmed since ('Passion of St. George', 266, see I. Gershevitch, *JRAS*, 1946, 183), it becomes possible to understand the name as 'truly good'. The other name formed with *δ'p't* (*δ'p'tsyγ[h]*, cf. *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, p. 737, n. 1) may favour that opinion. The exclamation could be analysed as meaning 'with (the word of applause) *āpāt*'.

⁷³ E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, 68 sq. (P 3, 203-19); cf. also *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, 714, 729.

⁷⁴ cf. 'Mitteliranisch', 85.

⁷⁵ cf. Livshitz, 125.

too, bore the name Dīwdād, the son of Muḥammad the Afšīn.⁷⁶ Nöldeke long ago remarked on that appellation, strictly *δēwδād*, and interpreted it as *Θεόδοτος*, with *dīw-* (*δēw*) = ‘god’ (*ZII*, II, 1923, 318). His father’s name was probably *δēwδašt* (rather than *δēwδast*), i.e. ‘(having) god (as) creator’, a variation on *δēwδād*, formed with *δašt* as in Al-Beruni’s list of the Sogdian day-names (corresponding with Av. *daθušō*). Nowhere did ancient words and beliefs have a better chance to survive than in those inaccessible mountain lands, *Panč* and *Uśrūšana*, the back of beyond.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 37, 506; Justi, s.v.

⁷⁷ In Mazendaran, in similar conditions, the ‘White Dēv’ maintained himself as a god, see Nöldeke, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xviii, 1915, 597–600. The history of *daiwa-* in Iranian has been correctly seen and clearly represented by H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, 90 sq.